THE Freeman

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

MAY 1960

Socialism Through the Back Door	William Henry Chamberlin	3
The Fallacy of the Minimum Wage	Thurman Sensing	9
On Talking to Ourselves	Edmund A. Opitz	11
The ABC's of Economics	Ralph Bradford	16
Planners, Go Home!	Lawrence Sullivan	18
The Gold-Disposal Plan	H. P. B. Jenkins	23
What Science and Engineering Cannot Do	Edward P. Coleson	24
Eternal Love	Lawrence Noonan	28
Our Tragic State of Confusion	William C. Mullendore	32
Do the Facts Justify a Higher Tariff Wall?	Lawrence Fertig	44
Socialism, Spiritual or Secular?	Francis E. Mahaffy	47
The Result Is Slavery	Howard E. Kershner	54
A Better Way To Help Farmers	James C. Patrick	56
Book Reviews:		
The Constitution of Liberty	John Chamberlain	59
Other Books		63

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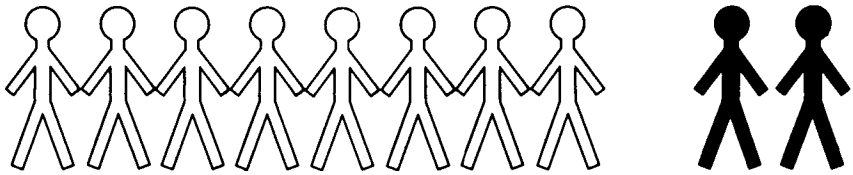

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THE Freeman

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SOCIALISM through the BACK DOOR

WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

Mr. Chamberlin is a skilled observer and reporter of economic and political conditions at home and abroad. He has written a number of books, has lectured widely, and is a contributor to *The Wall Street Journal* and many nationally known magazines.

SOCIALISM through the front door, the passing by Congress of a law transferring to public ownership some or all of our basic industries, would not stand the slightest chance of adoption in the United States today. Indeed, this old-fashioned socialist dogma of nationalization of means of production is visibly losing its appeal in Europe, where Marxism has been more widely accepted than in the United States.

Both the Labor Party in England and the Social Democratic Party in Germany have lost three elections running to the Conservative Party in Great Britain and to Chancellor Konrad Adenauer's Christian Democratic Union in Germany. As a consequence, the German Social Democrats have drawn up a new program in which nationalization of industry does not figure. The retention of the clause in the party program which calls for public ownership of all means of production, distribution, and exchange has become a subject of sharp internal debate in the British Labor Party.

There are die-hards who see betrayal in changing one comma of this dogma. But the leader of the party, Hugh Gaitskell, and some of his associates believe that all-out commitment to wholesale nationalization is an albatross around the

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party's neck, come election time.

It has now been possible in Britain to judge nationalization by the practical test of how it works. The Labor Government that was elected in 1945 nationalized the railways and the coal mines. Neither coal production nor railway service has improved as a result; and the miners and railway workers are just as ready to resort to strikes and slowdowns against state boards which are now operating these industries as they formerly were against private owners.

One of the humorous features of the Labor Party conference at the seaside resort of Blackpool, where the principle of nationalization was hotly discussed, was that the delegates and journalists who attended the conference received appallingly bad service on the return trip to London on the (nationalized) British Railways. It was even humorously suggested that Mr. Gaitskell had bribed the management to give the worst possible treatment, so as to convince some of the Laborite left-wingers that nationalization was not all they cracked it up to be. Another amusing aside is that the editor of the left-wing *New Statesman,* in theory a hot advocate of more extensive nationalization, plaintively pointed out in his editorial columns that it took British Railways longer to get copies of the magazine to Manchester than it took Pan-American Airways to bring the publication to New York.

His ideological blinkers, of course, excluded the possible explanation that such a comparative showing was par for the course when a state monopoly was competing with a private organization.

Nationalization in Retreat

Nationalization, as a result of experience of its workings, is not an inspiring banner under which to march. It is in retreat in Europe; in Germany there has been a move in some industries which have come under state ownership to dispose of shares to the public. Outright nationalization has no prospect of getting to first base in the United States.

But there are indirect as well as direct ways of destroying the system of responsible private ownership within the framework of a competitive free market which, when given a chance, has produced infinitely the best economic results from the standpoint of workers and consumers alike. The most insidious and dangerous of these means is excessive and growing expenditure by agencies of government at all levels, federal, state, and municipal.

For, although America has the biggest educational plant in the world, has by far the largest *per*

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capita number of university and college graduates, and the highest *per capita* expenditure on education from primary school to university, Americans are not good at arithmetic when it is a question of government spending. The average individual knows that he cannot buy everything he may want, that he must establish some system of priority in his personal spending, if he is not to go broke.

But a different scale of values is applied to federal and state budgets. It is loosely assumed that government, which produces nothing, has some miraculous means of creating money painlessly – that the economy which most people know they must practice in their private lives has no proper place when it is a matter of voting higher social security payments, bigger and better pensions, larger subsidies to farmers for producing nothing or less, tariff handouts to fat and sleek industries, lavish handouts to veterans for disabilities that have nothing to do with their service in the armed forces.

Indeed there is a widespread campaign under way in the United States to convince the American people that the sovereign remedy for all political, economic, moral, and social ills is to have Uncle Sam write larger checks for support for every conceivable project, from propping up obsolete mines to reclaiming delinquent youths. The manual of this campaign is the book, *The Affluent Society*, published two years ago, by the Harvard professor, John K. Galbraith.

The central thesis of this book, which has exerted a good deal of influence even on those who have not read it, is that private spending is intrinsically bad and public spending intrinsically good; that popular taste and the free market are base and unreliable guides; that public spending should be vastly stepped up and private spending sharply curtailed. Arguments along this line, in some cases clearly derived from this book, are now the stock-in-trade of left-of-center politicians and commentators.

The Painful Tax Burden

One point that should be made clear before considering the question whether the government or the individual should properly have a prior claim on the individual's income is that government spending is not and cannot be painless. Such expenditure can be financed in two ways: by higher taxes or by inflationary borrowing. And inflation, the systematic destruction of the purchasing power of the currency, is the most cruel tax of all.

So, when individuals and organi-

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zations come up with spending schemes for defense, welfare, education, foreign aid, and a score of other purposes, totaling tens of billions of dollars, they are, if they are honest with themselves, advocating that the present burden of taxation on the American citizen be made very much heavier. But are Americans undertaxed at the present time?

There has been no reduction in federal taxation since the first years of the Eisenhower Administration. The trend of state and local taxes is steadily upward. By and large, about one-third of what Americans earn is taken away from them by taxation. How much farther can this process go, especially in the graduated direct taxes which play such a big role in the American financial system, without completely blunting and dulling initiative and the desire to earn and produce more?

One oratorical debating device of the spenders is to represent the American people as rolling in wealth and invariably using that wealth for low and debased ends. How often are tail fins on automobiles scornfully mentioned, or the fact that outlays on liquor, tobacco, and chewing gum exceed spending on symphony concerts, first-rate books, and college endowments?

But this type of sermonizing, however effective it may be at commencement addresses, does not appeal to a typical middle-class American who is struggling to cope with the cost of putting two or three children through college, or meeting a high medical bill for someone in his family, or considering how, after he has met his various tax obligations, he can save something for his years of retirement.

Government Spending Rises

Taxation rates today are fantastically high by comparison with those of the years before World War II. The annual intake of federal revenue now is closer to the unprecedented outlay of the war years than to what would have been considered normal in the twenties or the thirties. And the trend of federal spending, even under an Administration more averse to profligate use of public funds than most of its opponents, has been upward, from $67.8 billion in fiscal 1954 to $79.8 billion proposed for fiscal 1961. During the period from fiscal 1954 until fiscal 1960, the public debt has risen from $271.3 to $284.5 billion.

High rates of interest on government bonds and the outflow of gold indicate that the state of government credit leaves something to be desired. As Senator Harry F. Byrd of Virginia, one

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of the outstanding financial experts in Congress, remarked: the government has exhausted its capacity to tax and its capacity to borrow.

It is under such inauspicious circumstances that it has become fashionable to bemoan the supposed absence of sufficient government spending, to insist in strident tones that America will become a second-class power if much larger sums are not siphoned off from the use of those who earned them into the insatiable maw of government spending agencies.

If one-third of America's national income is already earmarked for taxes, this proportion would have to rise to one-half, or even more, if the varied plans of the spenders were put into operation. And this would mean such a basic change in the nature of American society and of the American economy, that it should be treated as a great issue and debated up and down the land before a decision is taken.

It is difficult to say at what point the national debt becomes unredeemable and a hopeless mortgage on future generations. It is hard to say what rate of taxation will prove the last straw that breaks the back of that patient camel, the American taxpayer. But limits, on both these points, there certainly are.

Resignation among Citizens

Excessive government spending and its accompaniment, overtaxation, represent the back door to socialism. For the individualist, self-reliant citizen who has been the backbone of the American system of free enterprise and personal responsibility cannot survive in the role of a cow mercilessly milked by several systems of taxation, federal, state, local. He will lose heart and accept socialism, in the sense of an ever-widening area of substituting state help for self-help, as something inevitable, if not desirable.

I am old enough to remember a time when most Americans considered it a disgrace to receive any kind of public aid. Only recently I learned of a man with a distinguished record in teaching and academic work who finds, in his period of retirement, that social security payments stand between him and downright penury. Had he belonged to an earlier generation when the quaint idea prevailed that what a man earned was his own, he could easily have saved enough to provide for his own retirement.

Should present rates of taxation and present costs of medical aid continue to soar, the pressure for some kind of "socialized medicine" may become irresistible. A man who could face a stiff medical bill

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when what he earned was his own is often in no position to do so today. And, as people are taxed more and more to pay for public housing, they become increasingly unable to provide their own housing on a commercial basis.

Moreover, if the advocates of uninhibited state spending have their way, if the burden of individual taxation is increased 50 per cent or more above present levels, the private capital that is the lifeblood of industrial growth will dry up. Savings will drastically diminish. This would very probably lead to the substitution of state for private capital, which would certainly be socialism by the back door.

In other ways, too, life would become increasingly socialized. Sums available for the support of the private schools and colleges, which make a contribution to American education out of proportion to the number of students enrolled, would fall off drastically. Since the individual would have fewer resources of his own, the clamor for socialized education, along with socialized medicine, would grow stronger. The logical end would be an educational system supported by and controlled by the federal government from top to bottom. All the beneficial and stimulating diversity, the competition in differing approaches to education, and varied emphasis in subjects which are derived from our present system of a multitude of unstandardized private colleges would be ironed out.

The Crucial Issue

State help or self-help? Is the individual entitled to keep the fruits of his labor or is he to be adjudged an incompetent moron who must have a board of state guardians to spend the money which he is not able to spend himself?

These questions, I believe, point up one of the big and significant issues confronting America in the twentieth century. It would be of immense educational benefit if all the implications of these questions could be threshed out in a nationwide series of debates of the Lincoln-Douglas type.

The men in public office, in Congress and in the Executive Branch, who fight for holding the line against further federal spending are fighting for something even more important than financial stability, although this is certainly a most worthy and necessary cause. They are fighting to preserve some of the most important traditional American values against an insidious and dangerous attempt to smuggle in socialism by the back door.

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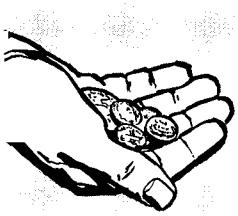

THE FALLACY OF THE MINIMUM WAGE

THURMAN SENSING

NONE of the advocates of a guaranteed minimum wage tie any strings to the wage; they simply advocate it as the wage to be paid to all those who work. One of their claims is that an increase in the minimum wage will produce greater prosperity.

If that argument is correct, why not make the minimum wage $12.50 per hour? Surely $12.50 per hour would produce ten times as much prosperity as $1.25 per hour. Actually, of course, hardly anybody would work any more – but when he did, just think how prosperous he would feel!

The whole argument of a guaranteed minimum wage is fallacious. It is wrong in principle, therefore it is wrong in practice. It leads to evils much worse than those it proposes to cure.

The whole trouble is that it is so easy to confuse the end with the means. The main objective, its proponents say, is to give everybody a living wage. Well, everyone wants at least a living wage – and should have it, if he deserves it. Most everyone wants a great deal more than a living wage – and should have that, too, if he earns it.

But no one who believes in freedom will argue that a person should have a certain wage whether he earns it or not. The only real guarantee behind a wage in a free country is the productivity of the person who receives the wage.

Our whole way of life in this country is opposed to any sort of planned economy by government. This means that our way of life is opposed to the fixing of minimum wages – because, deny it though we may, the fixing of wages by legislative action can be regarded as nothing else than part and parcel of a planned economy. Moreover, we must not forget that

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if the government is allowed to assume the power to fix minimum wages and maximum hours, there is nothing to keep the government from reversing this process and fixing maximum wages and minimum hours. When that happens, where is your freedom?

Also, the result of fixing minimum wages must not be overlooked. The law states that the employer must pay this wage to whomever he employs. If the employer is unable to pay the wage, however, the law doesn't force him to employ anyone at all. By putting a strait-jacket on the wages he must pay, it is very easily possible that the employer would have no other recourse than to close down.

Two Ways To Socialize

The government then is faced with two alternatives; either the business must be taken over by the government and the workers paid without any reference to the earnings of the business; or the workers go on relief and are issued a dole at the expense of the general public.

Under the first of these two alternatives, of course, we have state socialism, a system of government which it is inconceivable that the people of the United States, employees or employers, would willingly or knowingly endorse. Socialism never has brought, and never will bring, a high standard of living. We have only to look at what happened under the socialist government in Great Britain, where it promised happiness and produced misery. *Socialism is rich in promise but poor in performance.*

Under the second alternative, we find ourselves with a great body of unemployed. They are unemployed not through any fault of their own but simply because the laws of the land have made it unprofitable for them to be employed – but they are still unemployed.

But here again, the advocates of the planned economy step in and say the government must also guarantee full employment. So who takes over? The government again, of course, and the first thing we know we are led straight into socialism or communism or dictatorship – all totalitarian in nature and all equally bad.

There is no question here of the chicken or the egg. *In this case, productivity comes first; the wage comes second.* Otherwise, we have socialism – which drags everybody down.

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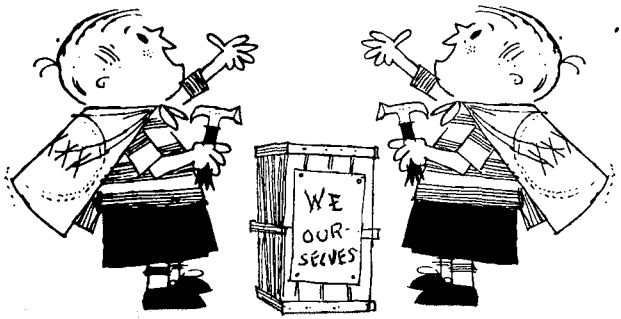

ON TALKING TO OURSELVES

The REVEREND MR. OPITZ *of the Foundation staff replies to a* FREEMAN *reader's observation that "we are talking to ourselves when we ought to be addressing the world."*

Dear Mr. .....:

Perhaps you have had the experience of expressing your concern over the mounting national debt and being reassured, "There's nothing to worry about; we owe it to ourselves."

Most people now see through this bit of semantic sleight of hand. "We" who owe the debt are one set of people. The "ourselves" to whom the debt is owed are — with possibly some overlapping — a different set of people.

Similarly, welfare staters try to brush off objections to collectivist political interventions by telling the critics, "This is majority rule at work; we are doing it to ourselves." But, obviously, the "we" who are doing it are not the "ourselves" to whom it is being done! Some Americans are doing certain things to other Americans, and our question concerns the rightness of those "certain things." When one of our citizens assaults another citizen, people don't dismiss the incident by saying, "We are doing it to ourselves"; they pass judgment on the act. When our group does something to another group, all of us know that "we" are the first set of people and we never think of the second set as "ourselves," but as the others.

Such distinctions as these are

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clear to many people, but move the discussion over into the area of libertarian concern – the collectivist trend and how to roll it back – and the distinctions begin to blur. Libertarians rely on the written and the spoken word as their main tools. The high quality of some of this work is widely acknowledged, but collectivists, nevertheless, continue on their way unheeding. Why? Because, it is alleged, we libertarians are talking to ourselves when we ought to be addressing the world, no less! This seems to be your feeling.

You "heartily applaud" our program, you write, and are interested in what our "capable writers have to say." This encourages me to deal with the one critical matter you raise, the point about "talking to ourselves." "I am afraid," you write, "that there is a good bit of talking to ourselves going on in this field. . . ."

The Listener's Choice

Let's face it: we *are*, in a sense, "talking to ourselves"! But is this fact surprising or in any way deplorable? No! Not if it be understood that "ourselves," in this context, refers to all the persons sufficiently interested in liberty to concern themselves with its future. Obviously, we cannot force people to read THE FREEMAN or any other libertarian literature, nor would we do so even if we had the power. Nor can we force anyone to participate in one of our seminars or be part of the various audiences we address. Such people as do open their pores to the several efforts of this Foundation are self-selected; they come within our orbit because they feel that we have something to contribute to their determination to understand liberty better – its economic and political implications as well as its spiritual and moral postulates.

Our material goes out each month to a mailing list numbering upwards of forty thousand. True, we have a number of readers who are hostile to our point of view but who read us just to see "how the other half lives." This is all right; we read Marxian and collectivist literature for the same reason. And every so often one of these persons gets a better focus on our philosophy and moves in our direction. I don't know how many readers we can claim for each copy of THE FREEMAN, probably several; but let's keep the figure at a minimum. Let's say that "ourselves" in this context refers to only forty thousand persons; forty thousand persons trying to better their own grasp of the philosophy of liberty. I am far from asserting that we are doing a good job at this thing; our inadequacy in the face of what

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needs doing is obvious. But the better job, if and when it is done, will be done in the same way, by "talking to ourselves." "We" have to talk to "ourselves" for a simple reason: the "not-ourselves" are not listening!

Consider this problem as it is exhibited on the church scene. Church people, by and large, exhibit standards of probity somewhat higher than the standards which obtain in the society at large. One might say, therefore, that churchmen do not need the ministrations of the pulpit as badly as do those who never become part of a Sunday morning congregation. But in the nature of things a sermon can be delivered only to those who come to hear it; it is the already converted who continue to draw upon the inspiration and wisdom each person needs for further growth. Similarly, the people who are already within FEE's orbit are, by and large, the very persons who are already the ablest expositors and practitioners of liberty. It has to be this way.

At the same time, we'd be happy to be reaching forty million a month. We'll approach this figure only as those now in the "not- ourselves" category are attracted into the circle of the "ourselves." But our work, by its very nature, imposes a demand on the people exposed to it. We don't peddle attractive labels which people can simply pin on themselves; we offer facts, ideas, and arguments which are merely the raw materials out of which each person must fashion the philosophy and convictions which become peculiarly his own. This requires time and personal effort, and all we of the Foundation claim is that we can initiate a person into this field. Perhaps we can counsel his first few steps and offer suggestions for further reading and study; beyond this he must find his own sources of instruction. We know from our own experience, reinforced by the testimony of countless others, that while this effort may be painful at times, it is genuinely rewarding.

What Are the Questions?

To your observation that we are "talking to ourselves" you add that "not enough of us are listening." There you have a point! Liberty in this country has lost ground, in large measure, because so many people think they already understand all that needs to be known about it! "We sound thinkers," they say in effect, "know all the answers; all we have to do is wrap them up in a pleasing bundle and sell this package to the masses." Well, the person who thinks he has all the answers is

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really one who has never asked all the questions! Every one of us is, to some degree and in most subjects, part of "the ignorant masses"! This means that ours is really an educational task, not a selling job; and the education should begin with the only person over whom we have control – one's self. Thus, the improvement of self has been one of FEE's major emphases.

If a person has properly tended to this first order of business, he will stimulate questions in others and become a source of learning upon which others will draw. And as he formulates and candidly gives off his best insights, his own understanding grows. But, if he thinks he has all the answers and tries to peddle them to people who are not asking the questions, he makes a nuisance of himself, does little for the cause of liberty, and may eventually quit the cause in utter discouragement.

There is a handful of us here at FEE working full time, according to our lights, on behalf of liberty. There are several other organizations motivated by a similar philosophy. We are joined by a number of clergymen and teachers and writers who understand liberty and work for it in their own baliwicks. But add us all together and our numbers are insignificant compared to the team the other side can put into the field. Start with the Communist and Socialist parties, add the theorists of the monopoly unions, the lobbyists of private organizations pressing for this or that bit of collectivization, the left-wing professors and preachers, segments of the Republican and Democratic parties, the numerous pressure groups who want government intervention in order to help their particular enterprises, and it must be admitted that we face a formidable array. The odds would be much too great, except for the fact that we can count on having our team filled out by volunteers.

The Individuality of Growth

The philosophy of freedom aims at personal growth by removing the obstructions which stand in the way of creative release and direction of individual human energy. This means that the persons most accomplished in the actual daily practice of freedom are largely the busy and successful persons on whom all of us depend to get the work of the world done, in business and in the professions. These people are practitioners of liberty. I have reference to the creative efforts of the free mind as it produces a better medicine, a more efficient tool, a safer tire, a sounder philosophy, a lovelier poem or song, a more useful

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gadget, a more apt technique of management. These are the beneficial fruits of free men at work, available to each one of us.

But in the same sense in which today's technologist or merchandiser is a projection of yesterday's researcher in pure science, we must acknowledge that every one of us who today reaps the many fruits of a free society is in debt to those who have worked and continue to work at the philosophy of liberty. Each one of us, of course, has priorities on his time, and it is up to each person to allocate his own time according to his convictions. But unless the practitioners of liberty at the level of goods and services become students of the subject as well, the freedom team is in a bad way. Unless a significant number of people can become as skilled in the exposition of libertarian concepts as they are in the practice of freedom principles, the free society will go on steadily contracting. The only way to push back these boundaries is to continue "talking to ourselves" – but not necessarily in the same old way. Liberty, it has been said, depends on eloquence, and eloquence is effective communication. Men want freedom as much as they ever did, but not many have learned to voice their aspirations effectively in a modern idiom. The literature of liberty is mostly "past tense"; our job is to make it contemporary so that it meets the modern mind at its growing edge. When that is accomplished, we'll still be "talking to ourselves" – but the world may pause to listen in.

Sincerely,
EDMUND A. OPITZ

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

Education and the Individual

IF MAN were merely an animal, his "education" would consist only of scientific feeding and proper exercise. If he were merely a tool or an instrument, it would consist of training him in certain response and behavior patterns. If he were a mere pawn of the political state, it would consist of indoctrinating him so completely that he could not see beyond what his masters wanted him to believe. Strange as it may seem, adherents to each of these views can be found in the modern world. But our great tradition of liberal education supported by our intuitive feeling about the nature of man, rejects them all as partial descriptions.

RICHARD M. WEAVER
From the pamphlet published by
The Intercollegiate Society of Individualists

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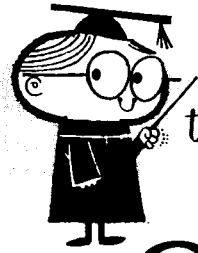

the ABC's of Modern Economics

RALPH BRADFORD

Q is for Quality. People or things
Possess it or not. The degree of it springs
From reaching for standards. The best you can do
Is strive for the quality label — for *you*.

R is for Reason, to which we appeal
To bolster our causes, with fervor and zeal,
Until it says no to our gain or our pride —
Then Reason is ridiculed, damned, and denied.

S is for Satan, who used to be feared
And hated by all who were properly reared;
But Satan assumes many forms, and his double,
Old Something-for-Nothing, accounts for our trouble.

T is for Truth, which is central in life,
But seldom observed in its fullness. The strife
Of living obscures it, and over it falls
The shadow of doubt — and yet ever it calls.

U is for Us and our Union of States,
Where each has the freedom to earn what he rates;
But some who contend that the rates are unequal
Would tax, seize, and squander, ignoring the sequel.

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V is for Victory, sweet to the taste
For only a moment — the product of waste
And death and destruction. The danger of winning
Is this: that your troubles are only beginning.

W stands for the Wisdom that springs
From deep understanding of men and of things.
Transcending intelligence, higher than knowledge,
It can't be transmitted, or taught in a college.

X is the symbol of subjects obscure
And objects unseen, with a mystic allure:
The yet-undiscovered, impending and vast,
Is greater than all we have learned in the past.

Y is for Youth, no better or worse
Than in Cicero's day — except for the curse
Their blundering elders, through many a year,
Have fastened upon them: the torment of fear.

Z is for Zoo, where the monkeys look out
On you and on me as we amble about,
With a hint of contempt in their simian eyes.
And sometimes I'm stopped with this shocking surmise:
That a modern millennium well might begin,
If we let them all out, and they locked us all in!

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LAWRENCE SULLIVAN

Planners, Go Home!

Can we escape the plague of planners?

REFLECTIVE world opinion appears suddenly to have got hold of the fact that no Five-Year Plan ever has delivered as promised.

Russia has modified six of her Five-Year Plans in mid-stream; India already has publicly cut back her extravagant goals in three; and Red China has modified two expansion visions in ten years. Every cut-back in socialist deliveries is explained by unforeseen developments—circumstances beyond the planning ken of the professional state planners.

Is social planning a new science, or merely a facile scheme of political payola?

Eugene Lyons once summarized his ten-year impressions of Moscow planning with the observation: "I know men and women without the ability to keep their own household accounts in order who have no hesitancy in tackling the godlike bookkeeping of human destiny."

Mr. Sullivan is Coordinator of Information, U. S. House of Representatives.

Our own Bureau of the Budget reports total expenditures of $8,391,000,000 planned for "research and development" programs in fiscal 1961. This compares with only $74,000,000 for all such federal programs in 1940. The day may be close at hand when we will find ourselves spending so much for officially planned development that we have no funds for the things we really should be doing today.

A holiday for planners easily may be our next national mood, or hysteria. In the soft-music candlelight of the more stately bistros on Capitol Hill, of a pleasant spring evening, one senses a rumble of legislative chatter which seems to murmer, "Planners, Go Home!"

Foreign Concepts

The scourge of professional planners hit America like a cyclone in the mid-1920's, a direct import from the new postwar socialist areas of Europe. Under

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communist doctrine, state planning became for that generation, "the wave of the future." The new literature of the era, as typified by *Main Street* and *Manhattan Transfer*, and by the vitriolic debunking biographers, made national planning the fashionable fetish of the intelligentsia and beatniks of that day.

Forty years of history now reveal some stark truths about state planning: (1) The more planners we have, the bigger grows the tax bill from year to year; (2) Without ever a thought how the money is to be raised, planners throw off their grandiose schemes in millions and billions from week to week – for schools, hospitals, recreation, senior citizens, moon shots, birth control, muscular dystrophy, or fallen arches; (3) The lads who make the more grandiloquent national plans seldom are around at maturity date, leaving only the stay-put taxpayer to face the sobering reality of the final cost sheets. The original planners, by this time are busy at blueprinting fantastic new projects, in Alaska, Puerto Rico, or Laos.

In government or out, every public planning group is sustained in Washington and the principal State Capitols by an alert and aggressive pressure-group lobby.

Secretary of Commerce, Frederick H. Mueller, recently tabulated all the *new* programs presented in formal bills on Capitol Hill during 1959. These measures, had they all passed, would have called for more than $300 billion in the ensuing five years – all on top of the present budget!

"Future commitments on public works already begun – housing, highways, and similar projects – total $98 billion.

"Even if Congress starts no new programs this year, certain existing ones contain built-in increases for civil aviation, merchant shipping, veterans' pensions, outer space, and many other programs. These built-in increases amount to over $2 billion for fiscal 1961, and already will add a billion dollars to the 1962 budget.

"Facing us also are accrued liabilities estimated at some $30 billion for military retirement, $28 billion for civilian employee retirement, and about $300 billion for future pensions, compensation, and other benefits voted for veterans. These accrued obligations for past services total roughly $358 billion."

Secretary Mueller's summary thus presents the picture:

Built-in budget commitments	$ 98 billion
Unfunded benefits	358 "
Federal debt	294 "
Total future obligations	$750 "

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This tabulation takes no account of unfunded liabilities under our federal Social Security programs.

Communist Housing

Historically, the most convincing documentation on frustrated planning comes directly from the planner's fatherland.

No other nation in modern history has attempted economic planning on so vast a scale as Communist Russia. In the communist lexicon the Gosplan is the very beginning of economic life. As outlined by Saburov before the Twentieth Party Congress of 1956, the Gosplan develops production schedules not only for the entire national economy, but "for individual branches, for every enterprise, building site, and collective and state farm."

"This will permit determination and direction of the development of every enterprise over the coming years."

The first major area of Bolshevik social planning was in "housing for the masses." Soon after the 1917 revolution, Lenin abolished private ownership in land, nationalized all privately-owned housing, and established an airtight government monopoly in construction.

The first national housing program, a segment of the New Economic Policy, NEP, was launched in 1923, with great propaganda fanfare.

At that point, the total *urban* population of Russia averaged 6.45 square meters of living space per person. By 1932 the available living space was only 4.94 square meters per person, and by 1955, 4.78 square meters.

European public health socialists in the nineteenth century had agreed upon 9 square meters per person (96.75 sq. ft.) as the minimum hygienic standard for urban living space.

Czarist Russia had achieved 7 square meters per capita in 1914 or about 78 per cent of the then accepted European socialist standard for cities. By 1955 communist planners had pulled the Russian per capita housing area down to 53.1 per cent of the 1880 standard.

A Deteriorating Condition

By this record, the housing planners in Russia not only failed to keep abreast of normal population growth, but actually reduced average urban living space per capita. Urban population is four times what it was in 1923, but the total urban living area has expanded only by three. Urban housing standards throughout Russia today are the most miserable in all Europe.

In the words of one reputable world authority on Russia, Soviet

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housing today, after 37 years of socialistic planning, "remains one of the worst blights on the communist record." (Timothy Sosnovy, *Problems of Communism*, Washington, 1956, p. 31.)

Translated into our own measure of feet and inches, urban Russians today have less than 51 square feet of living space per person, or about 205 square feet for a theoretical family of four. This would mean one room roughly 10 by 20 feet for every family. Current U.S. housing standards allow 320 square feet per person, or better than six times the most recently measured standard in Moscow, in 1955.

Such is the supreme accomplishment of planning in the first target area of communism – "housing for the masses."

The Alluring Empty Vision

In Russian housing, as almost everywhere else in national planning, the goals were not met chiefly because labor and materials were not supplied in the measure called for by the master plan. To quote Sosnovy: "Even the meager goals set in the plans went long unfulfilled, due to a discrepancy between the planned volume of building and the resources made available in both capital and labor."

This documented national experience reflects perhaps one deeper purpose of socialist planning – to *promise* needy multitudes pie in the sky, without a moment's practical thought how the promise may be realized. Socialist planners gain stature and prestige, not so much by realization of their heady dreams, as by the intoxicating visions they project before the confused and distraught masses. The rosy promise – the alluring empty vision – is the political stuff on which socialism thrives.

The promise of a million new houses at some indefinite future date will win far more votes and command much stouter political allegiance than will actual delivery of one hundred real houses this year. Most Russians have been living in roseate houses-on-order since 1918, but, concludes Sosnovy, "it is worth noting that the present living-space standard leaves the urban citizen substantially worse off than he was over forty years ago under the Czars."

This is one principal reason why the Kremlin dare not submit itself to an honest public appraisal by the people through the medium of a free election anywhere behind the Iron Curtain. Philosophers in every latitude and longitude declare it still is universally true that "you can't fool all of the people all of the time."

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How Will It Be Financed?

Defenders of socialism are quick to point out that every successful industry maintains a research and development agency to plan future growth.

The essential difference is that industrial planning is paid for by the industry as it moves forward. Professional political planning sometimes promises to be "self-liquidating," but never is.

A striking example is our current national highway program. Although less than four years old, it is already about 25 per cent short of planned funds to finance the 1961 mileage. A program estimated at $33 billion when launched in 1956 is now estimated at $41 billion. Over and above the special new gasoline and rubber taxes earmarked for the roads fund, there is presently in sight by 1962 a deficit of $10 billion in the road financing plan.

If we are ever to put a net over our runaway public planners, budget officers at every level of government must adhere to one massive policy – no program may be received from any government planning group unless and until it shall be accompanied by a detailed scheme of new taxes to finance the proposals to complete realization. Plans too often are launched with a million-dollar appropriation when the total cost is recognized at $10 million over five years. "Let's get it started," runs the planners' lingo, "and we'll raise the extra money somehow!"

This is precisely the technique of built-in budget increases cited by Secretary Mueller in his breath-taking tabulation of $750 billion in future federal obligations. This is the stuff inflation is made of.

"Our hazard today," Secretary Mueller concludes, "is not depression or famine or plague or invasion or civil war. It is the ever-present threat of inflation. Free enterprise has blessed us with record prosperity and all the resources essential to unmatched growth. And we have peace.

"Shall we enter this decade's Promised Land of unprecedented abundance? Or, by our own folly, shall we utterly ruin the brightest prospect that ever beckoned mankind?"

The Secretary's question likely will be answered by our future policy toward irresponsible government planners.

A five-year moratorium on public planning would offer at least a breathing spell – and a long overdue opportunity for every budget agency in government – local, state, and federal – to take a new financial bearing.

Can we escape the plague of planners? ◆

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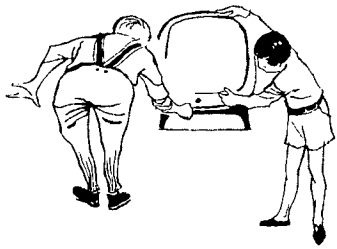
THE GOLD-DISPOSAL PLAN



or — A CASE OF GEOGRAPHICAL DISCRIMINATION

It was a windy afternoon
At story-telling time.
Old Kaspar shut the windows tight
And poured a rum-and-lime,
While Peterkin and Wilhelmine
Looked at the colorvision screen.

They saw a pier where armored trucks
Were stopping at the slips
And dumping loads of yellow bars
Beside the foreign ships,
Where men with solid wooden crates
Were standing by the loading gates.

"Now tell us what it's all about!"
The little children cried.
"It is the Gold-Disposal Plan,"
Old Kaspar soon replied.
"The Federal Treasury has sold
A few more tons of surplus gold."

"Did we get paid for all that gold?"
Asked little Wilhelmine.
"The buyers paid," Old Kaspar sighed,
"In dollars long and green.
But since they live in foreign lands
We put the dollars in their hands."

"Would Uncle Sam sell bars of gold
To simple folks like us?"
"If we lived overseas he would,
With no delay or fuss.
But selling gold to people here
Would wreck the Money System, dear."

H. P. B. JENKINS
Economist at Fayetteville, Arkansas

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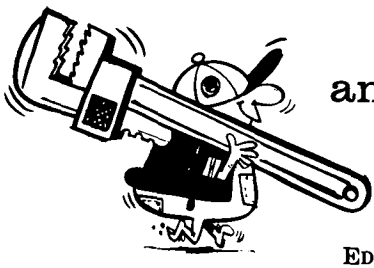

WHAT SCIENCE and ENGINEERING CANNOT DO

EDWARD P. COLESON

DURING World War II in Europe, the belligerents on both sides performed miracles of production to try to keep their forces in the field and supply the general population with at least enough to keep soul and body together. This seems all the more amazing when one recalls the nearly impossible conditions under which this was accomplished. Always there was a shortage of everything – except enemy bombers and blockbusters. Yet hardly had the planes droned out of sight before repair crews climbed out of the catacombs to clear away the rubble and make necessary repairs so that work could go on. In spite of the fact that they were woefully shorthanded both in workers and technicians, somehow they managed to keep their industrial machine going long after it should have stopped, according to any reasonable calculations.

Dr. Coleson is Professor of Economics at Taylor University, Upland, Indiana.

Industrial Paralysis

Many of us remember another day a dozen years before the collapse of Hitler's Germany when our own industries had well nigh ground to a halt. This time there were no air raids to hinder or material shortages to delay the productive effort. A few sparrows twittered up in the eaves and there was a film of dust over everything, but no visible evidence that anything was out of order. Apparently, the machines needed only to be tidied up and oiled to be ready to resume production, and surely there was no lack of operators or engineers to keep them going. *Why* didn't our industries run?

These two scenes are but symbols of the paradox of our time.

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There's an old saying that the pen is mightier than the sword. In contrasting the record of our own inability to keep our economy going and the European wartime success in continuing production with a scorched and battered industrial machine, one might conclude that cobwebs were mightier than TNT! Outwardly, there was nothing stopping our presses, lathes, and assembly lines except an occasional gossamer thread; but we couldn't get our machine cranked up and going for more than a decade, until driven to it by World War II.

Post Sputnik Madness

Since Sputnik went into orbit, we Americans have been obsessed with the notion that there's nothing wrong with the country that can't be figured out on a slide rule or surely with an electronic computer and that all will be well when we've splattered a big blob of red ink on the moon. Therefore, all the country needs is more scientists and technicians, and no expense should be spared to produce them. As a matter of fact, science and mathematics, like most other serious and difficult subjects, have been neglected in the last several years, and our students should go back to work along with a lot of other folks in America. But it simply is not true that the great problems of our time are "scientific" in the usual sense of that much abused word. The writer has no quarrel with science as such, since he was a mathematics and science major as an undergraduate and worked as a technician in a large industry for several years. But to a multitude of people science is a sacred cow, or like "Duz," does everything. It is difficult to believe that it is the true scientist who feels this way about it; rather, we find a lot of panicky Americans who have at last caught on that somehow something is amiss without being more than vaguely aware what the trouble is. However, if our problems were only technical, we could always find someone, a man with a big wrench or a makeshift engineer, who could make the necessary repairs or adjustments, even in an hour of extremity like Hitler's decline and fall.

Unlearned Lessons of the Last Half Century

When one ponders our present-day problems and the nationally advertised panaceas for them, he is impressed or depressed with the conviction that, as a people, we Americans have learned nothing and forgotten nothing since 1929 or, indeed, since World War I. While there are heartening signs that we may be catching on at last, so much of what passes for bold

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new thinking today is still the same "cheap money – make work" sort of New Dealism which failed through long dreary years to bring us out of the Great Depression. Nor is there any excuse for this on the part of us who are old enough to recall at least a generation of human experience. In addition to the lessons of the 1930's in the United States, we have had time to observe what a "managed economy" would do *for* people and *to them* around the world. The results to date, whatever the label or location, have not been impressive.

Nor are the lessons of the recent past wholly negative, concerned only with the unfulfilled promises of a century of socialist dreamers. We have also been privileged to see what hard work, sound money, and free enterprise could accomplish in the revival of West Germany since World War II. Lest we forget the utter depths from which the Germans have risen and the economic philosophy which sparked the German miracle, here, briefly, is the story in the words of Dr. Ludwig Erhard himself:

"We decided upon and reintroduced the old rules of a free economy – the rules of *laissez faire*. We abolished practically all controls. . . . Thereby I met with a lot of opposition and doubts, both inside and outside of Germany. Statisticians and experts considered the application of the rules of *laissez faire* under the prevailing circumstances as practically fantastic – since the situation was such that a person could buy in those times only one dinner plate every five years, one pair of shoes every ten years, and one suit every 90 years; while only every fifth baby had a chance to get diapers and only every third German could hope to be buried in a coffin."

The Population Issue

This "case study" is of particular interest because the German people found themselves in 1945 in a state of abject poverty and destitution like unto the so-called underdeveloped nations of the world. These unfortunate countries, only now emerging from colonialism, have blamed all their problems on their foreign masters. The Germans are not yet truly masters in their own house, and even the Allied Powers continued to demolish what industries survived the war for years after the end of the conflict. Western Germany also had a population problem. It is not commonly realized that in the postwar era she found herself with about twice the population density of India per square mile and has had to absorb millions of refugees on top of that. Indeed,

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the "teeming millions of Asia" theme has been much overworked. Even Switzerland with all her waste land has as great a populaiton density as India per square mile.

While unquestionably the monsoon area of Asia needs to stabilize its population, one could make a good case for the argument that there are not too many people in the world even yet. There are just too many of the sort that are – too many on the other side of the world who produce little and too many on our side of the globe who can produce abundantly, but who hold to the ancient mercantilist superstition that we are enriched by limiting output. Apparently, according to their mathematics, America will become infinitely wealthy as our productivity approaches zero.

What makes the German "experiment" particularly fascinating from a scientific point of view is the fact that just across the Iron Curtain is another group of Germans – a "control group," as the scientist would say. It is hard to imagine a fairer comparison or a more striking contrast. Both are German, yet West Germany literally has risen from its own ashes to be the going concern it is today in scarcely more than a decade, while East Germany has stagnated. Think what we could accomplish for ourselves and the world if we could but free ourselves from the mercantilist and socialist fallacies which strangled us for a dozen years during the Great Depression and have hampered our economic activity as long as anyone can remember. The way lies open. The world has nothing to lose by a mighty revival of freedom – nothing but its communist chains. What if the Russians do get to the moon first? We could more than gain on earth what might be lost in outer space.

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

Each in His Own Way

THE FREE TRADER holds that the people will employ their labor and capital to the best advantage when each man employs his own in his own way, according to the maxim that "A fool is wiser in his own house than a sage in another man's house"; – how much more, then, shall he be wiser than a politician?

WILLIAM GRAHAM SUMNER, *What Is Free Trade?*

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You are a member of the jury in this fictional court case.

LAWRENCE NOONAN

THE COURTROOM was hushed as the judge entered the chamber. It was crowded and many people could find standing room only. The trial, of course, had attracted nationwide interest and you could almost reach out and feel the expectancy.

The defendant, Charles Akins, was a rather small and timid looking man. Perhaps the timidity was a matter of fear – surely the somber courtroom and the overpowering majesty of the law were enough to inspire fear in a defendant. Mr. Akins certainly did not look like a criminal. As a matter of fact, he really looked quite respectable. But he did look frightened. And yet, there was determination there. And just a gleam of courage shining through, too.

Perhaps we should tell you now that the year was 1975. Not that there was anything so special about '75. Children went to school, grew up, worked, got married, and reared their own children. People went to church, voted, talked politics, argued, and endeavored to understand the subtleties of economics. But, all of it was just a little bit different. Especially in the way that people looked at things.

The Judge, the Honorable Warren Faber, having completed the preliminary ceremonies, was looking rather curiously, we thought, at the defendant.

"Mr. Akins," he said, "it is my understanding that you have retained no counsel and that you wish to defend yourself. Considering the gravity of the charge against you, I feel that you might like to reconsider."

"No, your honor," Akins replied, "I am going to defend myself."

"Mr. Akins, you are charged

Mr. Noonan is a businessman in Seattle.

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with a federal offense and are being tried in a federal court. You are charged with usurping the function of the government, of undermining and attempting to replace the monetary system of this country. With serious charges of this nature why will you not avail yourself of counsel?"

Mr. Akins seemed to be shivering slightly.

"Your honor, the facts have already been more or less determined. This is a matter of right or wrong. There isn't any legal thing involved here. I'm not guilty of anything. I simply want to tell what happened. I want to tell my story. I don't need any lawyer to do that."

The Prosecuting Attorney, Arnold Spear, leaped to his feet.

"Your honor, I object. The defendant is attempting to tell the court what is right and wrong. Further, I object to the statement that all of the facts are known."

"Objection overruled. This court will make its findings when the time comes. The defendant does have the right to represent himself. Mr. Akins, you have been sworn in. Now tell us what you consider to be your story."

"Well, this is the way it was. Back in 1957 my company, Trans-World Mining, became interested in increasing the market for our principal product – platinum. We had expanded our mining considerably and we needed more in the way of sales. We believed that platinum could be used far more extensively in jewelry and we bought a well-known jewelry manufacturing firm. We experimented with combining platinum with another metal, and we came up with something very beautiful and practical."

Judge Faber interrupted. "Mr. Akins, let me interrupt a minute. Up to this point you have simply told us that you were a mining company and had turned to the manufacture of jewelry from platinum?"

"Yes sir, that is correct. We had considerable success with the manufacture of jewelry, but as the years went by we began to notice a very unusual thing."

The Judge leaned forward intently. There was absolute quiet in the courtroom.

"We had manufactured small disk-like pieces of jewelry with some fine detail work on each side. Each piece had a small hole near one edge and we had intended them as pieces suitable for pendants. They sold for fifty, a hundred, and two hundred dollars apiece. Frankly, we had not expected to sell too many of them. But as time passed, we began to experience something unusual. As I said, in the beginning, we didn't

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know how much to expect in the way of sales from a simple little piece like this. But as the years went by, the sales on this one small piece of adornment jewelry exceeded the sale of everything else the company was making! We couldn't understand it. These small pieces – originally priced at $50 to $200, and later at higher figures as the dollar price of platinum rose along with prices of everything else – were going like hot cakes. This went on and on. Finally, I had a market research outfit do a survey to find out why we were selling so many of these."

Charles Akins paused and licked his lips. The audience in the room was quiet but tense. Although they didn't have a doubt about the outcome of the trial, it was fascinating to hear this story from the man himself. After all, you didn't defy the government these days and get away with it!

Akins went on. "We discovered that people were buying these as an investment. People had become terribly afraid of the government's solvency. The government had issued barrels full of paper money. It wasn't even backed by gold any more. You couldn't even get gold."

Arnold Spear had jumped to his feet again. There was contempt in his eyes as he looked toward the defendant.

"Your honor, the defendant is beating about the bush. These things about paper money and gold are ridiculous! He's completely dodging the main issue – what was written on those coins?"

Little Mr. Akins was growing bolder.

"Your honor, it is my turn now to object. This was not a coin. We did not make these as coins. We did put an inscription on this piece of jewelry which conveyed – in a foreign tongue – Eternal Love. We had expected that this piece would be used for gift purposes. However, many people also interpreted this quotation to mean Eternal Value. Later on, this piece of jewelry began to be used by people in trade. They recognized and trusted the purity of its alloy. It had real value to them not only as an ornament but also as a medium of exchange. And as it came more and more into use in trade, this new use gave it still added value. People began saving them, hoarding them. We increased our production many times. We almost eliminated the manufacture of all other platinum items. The people wanted these. They were demanding them."

Akins paused again. He seemed to be either waiting to be challenged by the Prosecuting Attorney or for a request for clarifica-

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tion from the Judge. Nothing happened. Both the Judge and Arnold Spear had become absorbed in the story.

Akins proceeded now with growing confidence. He was on familiar ground. Regardless of the outcome, he had only one course and he followed it.

"Naturally, we were in business to make a profit. However, we, too, had become very apprehensive about the monetary situation and the government's policy. We finally decided that in addition to selling the platinum pieces, we would also make them the basis of our accounting and billing system – our private monetary unit. Thus, we began to use them as a medium of exchange. Of course, we were soon threatened by the Treasury Department. But they couldn't really do anything about it. Anyway, they didn't try. But later the value of the paper money in the country became almost worthless and they tried to blame Trans-World Mining for it. There was wild inflation. But the platinum pieces kept their value. People kept these whereas they would have kept gold if they could have gotten it. The government's paper money became almost worthless."

There was now both triumph and despair in Akins' voice.

"Well, it was almost incredible what had happened. The chaos became almost indescribable. People became frantic to get more of these platinum pieces. Where the value of paper money was going down and down, the value of the platinum piece was going up. It became the only sound means of exchange in the country."

Sadly he continued. "People came to realize that sound money was just as important as liberty itself. They found that there wasn't any honest freedom without honest money."

Another pause. "But now the government needs a scapegoat and they've got me. They want to put their own blame on someone else."

We won't bore you with the cross examination by Arnold Spear, the Prosecuting Attorney. He was eager for a conviction and the rhetoric thundered in the court. He likened Akins to one guilty of treason, of plotting the downfall of his own country. Akins was morally a leach and legally far worse. The thunder rolled on and on.

We don't know yet what the verdict is. The jury is still out.

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Our Tragic State of Confusion: A Diagnosis

WILLIAM C. MULLENDORE

A businessman eloquently expresses his conviction that the mid-century crisis is spiritual, not economic.

FOR THE PAST three decades, as an executive of a large utility, a private citizen, and an active participant in the discussion of many of the issues and trends in American life, I have "viewed with alarm," because I have been convinced that we have been on the wrong road—a road that will lead to a disaster—and my concern has increased each year, particularly in the "era of prosperity" since 1946. During this time I have repeatedly warned stockholders of the company of which I was president, and all others who would listen, that this is a period not of prosperity and progress, but of liquidation of our free institutions and real assets—a period of retrogression in American life.

I submit that every responsible citizen who is awake and aware should protest against these things: that American leadership should be constantly proclaiming this as a period of sound, enduring, unprecedented prosperity; that the American people should be indulging in a spending and speculative spree, going ever more deeply into debt and feeding the fires of a ruinous inflation; and that we should be boasting of our high standard of living, growth, and progress, in face of the stark facts which show a worsening situation on every major front.

Consider that situation: Our na-

Mr. Mullendore recently retired as Board Chairman of the Southern California Edison Company. This article first appeared in *Modern Age: A Conservative Review*, Winter 1959-1960; copyright by the Institute for Philosophical and Historical Studies, Inc.

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tion of 170 million people is called upon to bear the awful burden and responsibility of leadership of the forces of freedom in a war for survival of modern civilization. Our military forces are deployed throughout the world in more than forty countries and on the high seas, equipped with modern implements of war, including missiles, submarines, and supersonic airplanes capable of handling atomic weapons. Some two million of our men are under arms in the Navy, the Marines, the Air Force, and various branches of the Army. The war which we call a "Cold War" dominates our life, and we are today essentially a military nation, whether we mean to be or want to be. The cost to us per annum, in man-years, in attrition of freedom, and in tangible wealth, is greater than in any previous war except World War II. And our unprecedented and incalculable debt accumulated in World War II has not been reduced but has been increased in our time of "greatest prosperity."

Because of advances in technology, automation, and the unprecedented abuse of credit, coupled with all but unlimited supplies of inanimate energy, we have produced and are producing volumes of physical equipment—tools, machinery, transportation, and communication devices, structures and buildings for all purposes — beyond the powers of comprehension or imagination. As a result, we live and are entrapped in the most artificial, interdependent, complicated, and complex system of human society which has ever existed. With it all, we have the largest debt, the biggest burden of taxes, the most advanced and dangerous inflation, the largest crime and juvenile delinquency rate, and the highest percentage of mental patients in our history.

The Nature of the Crisis

These aspects of our "prosperity and progress" and the threats arising therefrom are some of the surface manifestations of our crisis. And we need to remember always that this crisis of ours, and of civilization, did not start with the Communists, however eagerly they have seized the opportunity to stimulate trouble, confusion, and disorder wherever it exists. The roots of the crisis lie much deeper — in revolutions and revolutionary changes, in wars and lesser evil destructive forces, which are always at work within human societies and institutions.

Abler observers than I have written countless volumes about the crisis and the events which led up to it. Two of these have summarized its nature more powerfully and comprehensively than I

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could. Pitirim A. Sorokin, of Harvard, who has devoted much of his life to an intimate and informed study and interpretation of many phases of the crisis, tells us:

> We live amidst one of the greatest crises in human history. Not only war, famine, pestilence, and revolution, but a legion of other calamities are rampant over the whole world. All values are unsettled; all norms are broken. Mental, moral, aesthetic and social anarchy reigns supreme.[1]

Whittaker Chambers writes similarly in his penetrating and moving "Foreword in the Form of a Letter to My Children," in *Witness:*

> Few men are so dull that they do not know that the crisis exists and that it threatens their lives at every point. It is popular to call it a social crisis. It is in fact a total crisis – religious, moral, intellectual, social, political, economic. It is popular to call it a crisis of the Western world. It is in fact a crisis of the whole world. Communism, which claims to be a solution of the crisis, is itself a symptom and an irritant of the crisis.[2]

It is not, however, with the objective nature of the crisis, but with our subjective reaction to it, that I am primarily concerned in this essay. In one respect I cannot agree with Whittaker Chambers: I can find little evidence in the activities and attitudes of the American people that they are aware that the crisis "threatens their lives at every point." I believe that one of the greatest sources of danger is the generally prevalent *unawareness* of our truly appalling human situation. I also believe that this unawareness is primarily due to a lack of understanding, which in turn is due to a "failure of nerve" and refusal to face facts on the part of our people. I believe further that this "failure of nerve," with resultant fantasies of wishful thinking and "hoping for the best," is fundamentally grounded in one thing: *confusion.*

The "Disease of Confusion"

For the remainder of these pages, I shall examine the thesis that a major element in the present-day crisis is a "sickness of society" brought on by the "disease of confusion." And, indeed, "confusion" is a medical term. *Blakiston's New Gould Medical Dictionary* defines it as: "1. State of mental bewilderment. 2. A mixing or confusing." And in *Webster's New International,* we find these pertinent definitions: "State of being confused, or disordered; dis-

[1] Sorokin, Pitirim A. *Man and Society in Calamity.* New York: Dutton, 1943. p. 308.

[2] Chambers, Whittaker. *Witness.* New York: Random House, 1952.

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order, as of ideas, persons or things . . . . A mental state characterized by unstable attention, poor perception of present reality, disorientation, and inability to act coherently."

The disease of confusion manifests itself in a human society by disorder, disunity, the disintegration of unifying value-systems, and the abandonment of those principles which are the foundation and elements of the established order.

Russell Kirk, in his article in the *University of Detroit Law Journal* on "Our Reawakened Consciousness of Order," writes of the preeminent position of order as "the principle and the process by which the peace and harmony of society are maintained," and quotes Richard Hooker to show the reverse side of the coin: "Without order, there is no living in public society, because the want thereof is the mother of confusion." The ultimate in disorder is anarchy – the absence of all order – confusion complete.

With the foregoing definitions before us and having in mind that disorder and confusion are, in the context of this discussion, very closely related, we may venture this more specific definition of the disease of confusion as it affects the individual in society: Confusion is an infection which attacks the individual human being in his consciousness, character, and conduct. It tends to destroy his anchorage in principle; to weaken his powers of perception, discrimination, choice, and decision; and to corrupt, retard, or halt his moral and spiritual development. An epidemic of confusion is particularly destructive of the capacity for self-government and freedom upon which the structure of a free society depends.

A Time of Testing

In the great tragedy of history now being enacted on the world stage, the United States is the protagonist of the forces of freedom; and upon our awareness, alertness, moral and spiritual strength and integrity, depends the survival of civilization. Our fitness for leadership is being tested. Are we meeting the test, or are we exhibiting alarming symptoms of confusion and disorder in our reaction to the challenge of our time?

During our country's greatest crisis previous to this one, Abraham Lincoln in his Gettysburg address, said: "We are now engaged in a great Civil War, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated can long endure." In this sentence Lincoln with his genius for definition of principle used the word which characterizes the essence of crisis – *testing*. A crisis is a test-

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ing period, whether it occurs in the life of a single human being, nation, or civilization. And in this testing period, as in school, questions are asked which may determine whether the questioned one is qualified to proceed. That is to say, a crisis in the life of a country or a civilization imposes questions, upon whose answers the continued existence of the country or civilization may depend.

Our Changing World

As has been so often remarked, great as was the foresight of the Founding Fathers, no one in the eighteenth century could have conceived of the United States and the world in the last half of the twentieth century. Expansion and growth in population, technology, and in development of the potentialities of human beings for exploration and discovery, for change of and control over their environment were predicted; but the wildest prediction fell far short of the total achievement. No wonder we are confused! In every field of human activity there is much to be confused about.

The prophets of the eighteenth century failed to realize particularly the enormous acceleration in the rate of change which would result once men were free of the restraints imposed by older regimes, had succeeded in harnessing unlimited quantities of energy, and had devised the means for conquering barriers of time and space. Of even greater significance was the failure to foresee that the vast number of individual minds could not keep pace in awareness and understanding with the sum total of changes affecting their lives. The discoveries, inventions, and far-reaching innovations in human relationships were initiated by individual human beings; but, once launched in the world, they affected and complicated the lives of all far beyond the intention, to say nothing of the control, of any one man or group.

More Changes than Men Can Comprehend

Herein lies the great dilemma of freedom: Ideas originating in the minds of individuals are launched upon society as a whole, and their adoption and implementation bring about widespread and accelerating changes, both good and bad, in human relations and in the natural as well as the human environment. Thus perplexing difficulties confront the individuals and groups of organized society, in their attempts to adjust to the constantly changing order of things.

Since the political and economic forms and institutions of a free

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society are based upon the assumption that the individual has the ability to respond, it follows that his failure to meet the test may jeopardize his free institutions. This is the basis for the assertion that confusion is a disease which endangers a free society, and when, as now, it endangers the life of a civilization, it rises to the level of high tragedy. Hence the title of this essay.

The word "free" is misleading, and hence a breeder of confusion, as applied to our constitutional system of limited government, the very essence and foundation principle of which is that the individual citizens must bear the burden of responsibility for the maintenance of much of that order of human relations which distinguishes and differentiates this system. A more accurate name for such a system would be "responsible individualism," because it is the responsibility of the individual rather than his freedom, which should be emphasized as the leading characteristic of such an order of society.

There can be no organized and ordered society in the absence of intelligent restraint of the individual, either from within the individual himself or from without. Edmund Burke, stated the point with his usual clarity of insight and expression:

> Society cannot exist unless a controlling power of will and appetite be placed somewhere; and the less of it there is within, the more there must be without. It is ordained in the eternal constitution of things, that men of intemperate minds cannot be free. Their passions forge their fetters.

Under communism, and other forms of government which enslave the individual, the responsibility for restraint and direction of human relationships is largely vested in those exercising unlimited powers of government. The radical difference, therefore, for the individual citizen, between the free system and its opposite, lies not in freedom from restraint, but in the degree and purpose of restraint, and whether that restraint is self-generated and self-imposed (voluntary in this sense), or imposed from without and enforced by the power of coercion used at the ruler's sole discretion.

If Self-Government Fails

Self-government, then, essentially means self-reliance, self-restraint, self-control, self-discipline, self-denial, and self-direction, as contrasted with the systems of government which make no such assumption and place unlimited power in the government to restrain, to control and direct and hence completely to enslave and

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regiment the individual. It follows that, insofar as the American people have abandoned or refused to obey the laws or rules for self-government – that is, insofar as individuals have failed and are failing or refusing to restrain themselves, to discipline themselves, and in general to perform the affirmative obligations of self-reliance upon the performance of which the health and the wholeness of their country is dependent – to that degree we are abandoning our free system. Or, to spell it out more bluntly, this also means that the trend is strongly toward a government of unlimited powers, and the consequent disintegration of all of our free institutions which are dependent upon the maintenance of responsible individualism.

Much of what has been said above is clearly and succinctly summed up in Felix Morley's *The Power in the People:*

> When the American people have been self-reliant, mutually helpful and considerate, determined in their mistrust of political authority, this nation has been "in form"; its tradition alive; its contributions to civilization outstanding. Confusion has arisen as form has been neglected. The restoration will require, for all of us, at least as arduous an effort, and as rigorous self-discipline, as the athlete consciously applies to himself in order to remedy physical deterioration.[3]

Confusion Regarding Communism

Thus far we have considered some of the causes and general symptoms of confusion as manifested within our own American system of society; and we have noted a trend toward abandonment or loss of traits of character, which if lost, will greatly weaken, if not destroy, the former structure of our free institutions by radically changing our relations to one another.

The foregoing is only one area of our confusion in the world crisis in which we are so deeply involved. Let us now examine certain alarming symptoms of confusion in American understanding of the basic issue in the great conflict which precipitated the crisis. This conflict, as we are only too well aware, is with the aggressive tyrants of communism who have acquired unlimited power over, and have mobilized and are training (but not educating), for their wholly evil purposes, hundreds of millions of imprisoned people.

The symptoms of confusion here under examination are those revealed by reports on the communist system made during recent

[3] Morley, Felix. *The Power in the People.* New York: Van Nostrand, 1949. p. 14.

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months and years by American visitors returning from Russia. These reporters include not only "run of the mine" American tourists but, more importantly, newspaper editors, prominent state and federal officials, business leaders, and members of other official and nonofficial parties who have been admitted to Russia to observe (under surveillance and guidance of Communists) and report to their fellow-Americans upon the communist system, how it is working, and how the Russians themselves seem to feel about it.

Words Without Meaning

The basic importance of the impressions thus gained and reported to the American public lies in the fact that the questions as to what the Communists are "up to," what they intend doing to "change the world," and just how they threaten us, are questions upon which most Americans are quite uninformed and upon which they are eager to obtain information couched in language which they can understand. Generally, we understand that the Russians are threatening us with physical violence, especially with missiles carrying atomic warheads, in order to keep us from interfering with their attempt to conquer the world for communism; but we have only the vaguest understanding of the real meaning of communism, and consequently of the true definition of the issue which is at the heart of the world conflict. And it is this issue which our reporting tourists are confusing for us.

One of the most prominent and official of our reporting observers was recently quoted, on the front page of all large metropolitan daily papers, as saying that the "essence of the conflict" between the Russians and ourselves is whether "our concept of progress with freedom" will prevail over their "concept of progress without freedom." The emphasis here is upon the conflict between the *means* by which "progress" shall be achieved — not upon the real issue, which is the end aimed at, or the *meaning* of *progress*, as respectively defined in the American and communist systems of society. The word "progress" is used as if it had a common meaning in both systems. It does not.

Essentially the same confusing idea appears in other reports, wherein there is much talk of how much better the Russians are "succeeding" with their system in "competition" with ours, than had been anticipated by the observer before his visit. Repeatedly appearing in the reports are such assertions as the following: "The Russian people are happy with the progress they are making." One

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reporter grows ecstatic in saying, "They are contented with and proud of their system because it stresses equality, education, science, culture, more leisure and a shorter work week, the dignity of labor, free medical and dental care, and other cradle-to-grave services." This same reporter, who is the editor of a large daily newspaper, warns that we had better quit brainwashing ourselves by circulating the idea that the Russians are not succeeding with this system, because it was obvious to him that they are making "progress" in their endeavor to improve the lot of their people, far beyond anything we had predicted.

Progress Toward Slavery

The communist concept of progress is advancement toward the realization of a dehumanized, depersonalized, and despiritualized society, to be attained by destroying what they call the "myths of religion and other superstitions which teach that there is a God or any Power in the Universe higher than man." The Russian goal is to build a world communist society by conquering and enslaving the peoples of the world. The purpose of the Russian "competition" with us will have been achieved if and when they have "buried us." The means to their goals are any and all which will serve to crush the spiritual life of individual human beings and transform them into highly trained animals, conditioned to exist as mere replaceable units and having no significance except as tools to be used in the perfection of the communist ideal of a society of enslaved beings deprived of all individuality. This is the "death camp" into which Communists are trying to lure and to drive the world; and this is the "essence of the conflict between the Communist Powers' concept of progress without freedom and our concept of progress with freedom." Now really, we do not need to go to Russia nor to have Russian communist leaders come to this country to learn that!

That the communist masters of the Russian people are indeed making a real and ominous advance toward their goal of building their slave society is undoubtedly true. But for Americans to speak of this as progress, and as a gain for Russia in a competitive race with us toward a common goal, is shocking beyond expression. To the American, "progress" is a good word, and it conveys the idea of advance toward a desirable and laudable goal. Now, we can be sure that responsible, intelligent, and representative Americans, such as those who made the reports above referred to, would not have made such favorable reports as to the progress and success of the Russian

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system, had they comprehended the total situation upon which they were reporting, and foreseen the implications and inferences which their fellow-Americans, as well as anxious peoples in other countries, would derive from their statements. We must, therefore, in charity and in a spirit of forgiveness, conclude that these reports are but another symptom, albeit a most alarming one, of the mental bewilderment, disorientation, and disintegration of their judgment and value-system, which we call confusion, and which afflicts, in its many disguises, the vast majority of our population.

The Problem Summarized

As I stated at the outset, what I have attempted here is an examination of some of the leading symptoms or manifestations of confusion in the minds of the American people. The urge and hope motivating my effort have been that we might thus derive a better understanding of the mess we are in.

The symptoms which have been noted indicate that our "disease of confusion" is a well-developed and serious case. The following summary seems justified:

1. We are failing in our highest responsibility, which is to maintain, preserve and improve our moral environment – the self-reliance, independence, mutual trust and confidence, and capacity for self-government required of us as American citizens. For a quarter of a century, we have been continuously, and at an increasing rate, shifting more and more functions and responsibilities, and hence ever-increasing power and authority, from ourselves as individuals and from our formerly free, private institutions, to government and government institutions. We have sought to escape consciousness of our failure and neglect by concentrating on our physical environment – production, scientific investigation, technology, automation, leisure, comfort, and physical health. That is, we have devoted more and more of our efforts to the *means of living*, and we have neglected the ultimate ends, aims, and objectives for which we live.

2. We say we believe in freedom, but we are quite "fuzzy-minded" about the meaning of freedom. We tend to think first of freedom as meaning freedom from obligations and responsibilities, and as a birthright of the American to receive something free. While we readily join in any protest against infringement of personal rights of freedom of speech and religion, to many of us such phrases as "freedom of the spirit" mean nothing. Neither do we appear to be very sensitive about freedom of choice or association; nor do we seem

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really to care about oppression of the minority by the majority, particularly if the oppression appears to be in our favor. Definitely, the prevailing trend is toward modifying the American way of life whenever we are persuaded that the change will assist "myself and my group" to make "progress" toward the attainment of our own economic advantages and "happiness."

3. We are tending to retreat from the higher dimensions of life, from the inner and the spiritual, and to spend our time and energy in pursuits which contribute only to the physical. Thus by neglect, as well as by positive action, we are contributing to the disintegration of the free system of this Republic – Responsible Individualism. By the same token, we are contributing to the growth of its opposite number – a government of unlimited powers, dominating, controlling, directing, dictating, and restricting the freedom of development of those citizens who, under this trend, may soon become "subjects."

As Professor Wilhelm Roepke stated in last summer's issue of *Modern Age:*

> The nidus of the malady from which our civilization suffers lies in the individual soul and is only to be overcome within the individual soul. For more than a century, we have made the hopeless effort, more and more baldly proclaimed, to get along without God and vaingloriously to put man, his science, his art, his political contrivances, in God's place. I am convinced that the insane futility of this effort, now evident only to a few, will one day break on most men like a tidal wave. . . .

The Crisis Is Spiritual

Our crisis is spiritual, not economic. We have suffered a failure of nerve and are wandering, lost and bewildered, amidst a multitude of troubles and anxieties, "lacking wisdom and even common sense," because we are seeking the answer in the wrong dimension and the wrong direction.

"Human existence in society has history," says Eric Voegelin in his introduction to *The World of the Polis,* "because it has a dimension of spirit and freedom beyond mere animal existence, because social order is an attunement of man with the order of being . . . that has its origin in world-transcendent divine Being."[4] The pragmatists, many scientists, and intellectual liberals deride this as mysticism and demand something definite which can be tested in the laboratory so that we may know where we are going. In reply we must ask: "Do you now

[4] Voegelin, Eric. *The World of the Polis.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1957. p. 2.

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know where you are going? Or why?" Those who do not now know what to hold by, nor where they want to go have deserted our "old system" for a hybrid system which has no unifying philosophy or design for living. So long as we lack guiding principles and a coherent system, we will be in danger of repeating the humiliating blunder of accepting the communist challenge to "compete with" their system.

But, What of the Individual?

Those who have thoughtlessly praised the superiority of the Russian system of education, merely because it has been turning out "trained" scientists and engineers in greater numbers than our system, have lost sight of the goal in their admiration of a particular means. They fail to note what the Russian system does to the individual; and under any system, it is what happens to the individual that is all important. I close with a favorite quotation on this vital point from the *Journal of Amiel*, the nineteenth-century Swiss philosopher and teacher. Writing on June 17, 1852, Amiel said:

> The test of every religious, political, or educational system, is the man which it forms. If a system injures the intelligence, it is bad. If it injures the character, it is vicious. If it injures the conscience, it is criminal.

We know that the system we are fighting fails on every point in the test. What shall we say about our own?

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

For Peace Among Men

WE MAY SWEEP the world clean of materialism. We may scrub the earth white of autocracy. We may carpet it with democracy, and drape it with the flags of republicanism. We may hang on the walls the thrilling pictures of freedom . . . we may spend effort and energy to make the world a Paradise itself, where the lion of capitalism can lie with the proletariat lamb. But if we turn into that splendid room, mankind with the Same Old Heart, "deceitful and desperately wicked," we may expect to clean house again not many days hence. What we need is a "peace conference" with the Prince of Peace!

ARTHUR BRISBANE

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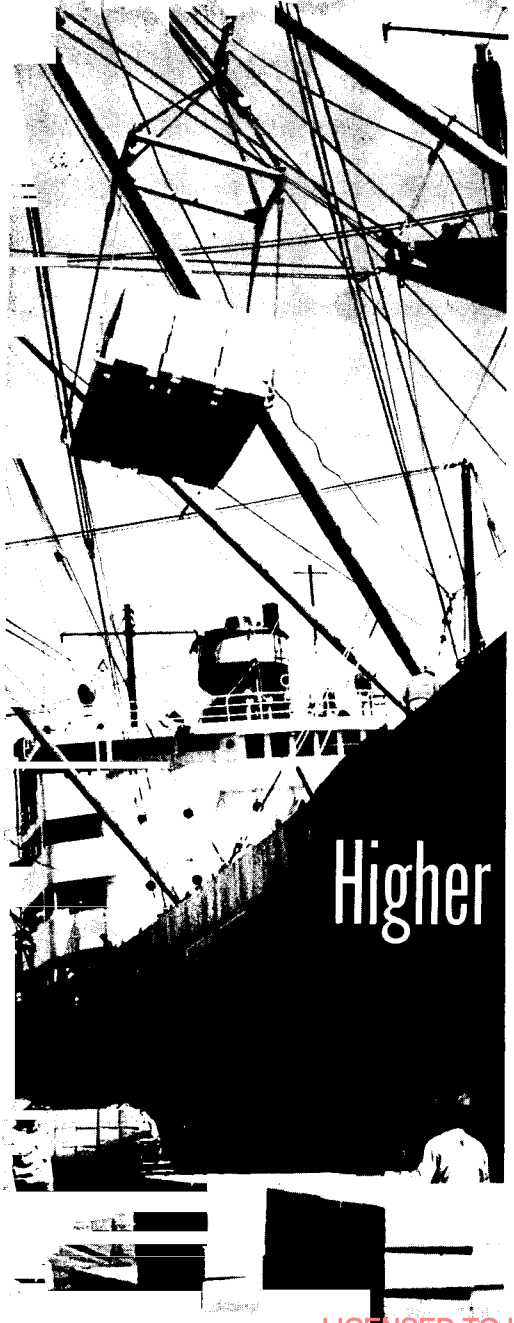

THE DECLINE of our export trade accompanied by a substantial increase in our imports over the past two years is certainly cause for concern.

Two basic reasons for this trend are (1) American high-cost production which makes American goods noncompetitive in many lines; (2) vigorous competition by European and Japanese plants financed largely by U.S. money which can often undersell American products both here and abroad.

The effects of this tough competition have convinced many people that the solution is to raise our

LAWRENCE FERTIG

DO THE FACTS JUSTIFY A

TARIFF WALL?

tariffs and prevent admission of foreign merchandise. It has also given ammunition to organized high-tariff advocates. The most curious result of all, however, has been the effect upon those who proclaim themselves liberals.

Mr. Fertig is a columnist on economic affairs, *New York World Telegram and Sun* and other Scripps-Howard newspapers, in which this column first appeared, February 15, 1960.

Illustration: A. Devaney, Inc., New York

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A basic tenet of traditional liberalism has always been the gradual elimination of economic barriers among nations, but an AFL-CIO report recently announced that "powerful support developed for a resolution that would reverse the AFL-CIO traditional backing for the U.S. reciprocal trade policy and request tariffs to curb imports of goods produced in foreign sweat shops." Of course the phrase "sweat shops" here is merely a semantic trick to designate every nation in the world where labor costs are lower. Many self-styled liberals like the AFL-CIO have renounced the basic liberal principle of freer international trade.

Do the facts justify those who say this country will benefit if we build up a higher tariff wall to exclude foreign merchandise? We do not think so. They make the fundamental error of looking at only one side of the coin. But there are two sides to it – *exports* as well as imports. Advocates of higher tariffs gloss over the employment to American labor and the profits to American industry derived from the production of goods in this country which are *exported* to foreign purchasers.

Although last year was not favorable for our foreign trade, we nevertheless had commercial exports of approximately $16 billion of American-produced commercial products. If we curtail this activity, what would happen to the jobs and profits resulting from our producing for export? After all, foreigners cannot buy American goods if they do not earn dollars by selling their merchandise to us. Japan, for instance, which competes keenly with American producers in the United States, was nevertheless the No. 3 buyer of American goods last year. Even in a bad year like 1959 our commercial exports exceeded our merchandise imports by about one billion dollars.

Finally, it must be remembered, every dollar saved by an American consumer who buys an imported product cheaper is a dollar spent for some other necessity manufactured right here. One American manufacturer's loss becomes another's gain – but the consumer and the nation get an advantage. Just how terrible is this situation on balance, and why should believers of freer trade get panicky?

Look at the Record

Let's get specific and take U.S. exports and imports on finished manufactures, since we hear so much about our disadvantage in this type of trade. In the 12 months ended September, 1959,

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our *exports* were $9.2 billion and our imports $4.8 billion, so we had *an excess of exports of $4.4 billion.* Is this a cause for panic? In every major classification we import some goods while our factories make substantial exports. For instance:

MACHINE TOOLS

Exports	$156 million
Imports	30 million
Net Exports	126 million

AGRICULTURAL EQUIPMENT

Exports	$141 million
Imports	112 million
Net Exports	29 million

ENGINES AND PARTS

Exports	$232 million
Imports	5 million
Net Exports	227 million

CONSUMER GOODS
(Excluding foods and textiles)

Exports	$890 million
Imports	876 million
Net Exports	14 million

Now let's take a classification where we have a lot of trouble: textiles. Even here our export trade is substantial. The figures read:

TEXTILES

Exports	$434 million
Imports	591 million
Net Imports	157 million

In steel mill products we have a similar situation. We import more than we export. But our exports are substantial.

STEEL MILL PRODUCTS

Exports	$165 million
Imports	291 million
Net Imports	126 million

If we want to wipe out our imports, we will have to wipe out our exports which produce jobs and profits. This would not make much sense. Our imports are profitable, as Professor Gottfried Haberler of Harvard recently pointed out. "If factors of production are shifted from the inefficient industries, which can be kept alive only by skyscraper duties, to efficient export industries, real national income per head, real wages and salaries will go up." After all, that is the objective of economic policy, to make *real* income go up.

A case can be made out for increased protection where *national defense* is involved. We may be in dire need of products of certain industries in the future, and we do not want to be left high and dry if a crisis occurs. But this does not mean that we must throw a higher tariff wall around the U.S. and thus lower the real income of U.S. workers.

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A clergyman, who has served since 1945 as a missionary of the Orthodox Presbyterian Church in Eritrea, East Africa, takes exception to certain views of some highly-placed spokesmen for organized religion.

Socialism—SPIRITUAL or SECULAR?

FRANCIS E. MAHAFFY

ONE of the strange ironies of this generation is the fact that the Christian Church has lent its moral support to the advance of socialism. This is not to say that the majority of Christians are socialists, but by and large Christians have supported either socialism or interventionist policies that lead progressively toward socialism.

One fact that must impress a reader of the works of modern theologians and church leaders is the almost universal lack of interest in or knowledge of some of the basic principles of economics. In fact, one gets the impression that they view economics as a purely secular science whose findings are thus suspect from the start. They are not interested in the secular but in the spiritual. A writer from England in discussing the Welfare State leaves the problem of the financial practicability of the Welfare State to the economists.[1] His interest lies solely in the Christian attitude toward this new conception of the work of the State. He concludes that the Welfare State is in accord with Christian principles. It seems never to have entered his mind that if the Welfare State cannot provide the welfare which it claims is its duty to secure for the citizens, the Christian should oppose it as a visionary scheme. It does not occur to him that the economic practicability of the scheme should be of primary concern.

One cannot but be stunned by the complete lack of evidence of knowledge of or concern for basic economic facts in the writings of most of the outstanding theologians of today. The attitude of these writers and of Christians generally seems to be that since eco-

[1] Carson, H. M., *The Christian and the State*. London: Tyndale Press.

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nomics deals with material things, it cannot be the concern of a spiritual organization, the Church. So men of international repute continue to write and exert a wide influence on Christendom in the field of man's social relations, ignoring the science that deals specifically with important aspects of that relationship.

Likewise, the very mention of the word capitalist or capitalism, and especially of laissez-faire capitalism, immediately stirs up an adverse emotional response if not one of outright hostility in the minds of most Christians. Emil Brunner, who is classed as one of the bitterest opponents of communism by many, equates capitalism with an unrestrained, unlimited individualism that is destructive of justice for the common man. Paul Tillich speaks of class war as the secret condition of all capitalist society and says that "free economy tends necessarily toward infinite commercial imperialism."[2] Reinhold Niebuhr, especially in his earlier years, looked upon capitalism as incompatible with the necessities of a technical civilization and a system that brought about overproduction, unemployment crises, and a breakdown in the system of distribution. Karl Barth has always been one of the most ardent warriors against what he terms "bourgeois capitalism."

To many the term capitalist conjures up the concepts: exploiter, rugged individualist, tycoon, business magnate, monopoly – all of which bear a distinctly evil connotation in their minds. Individualism is viewed as the very opposite of social concern and brotherhood and inimical to the Christian concept of love. Profits are set in contrast to service, the term big business is equivalent to exploitation and injustice. Capitalism is concerned only with earning more money while the Christian's concern lies in the higher spiritual realm.

Thus, while Christians may reject complete socialism as a system hostile to Christian ethics, almost as emphatically they reject capitalism as crass materialism. The apologetic attitude of many entrepreneurs toward profits lends moral support to this viewpoint.

Wrong Problem, Wrong Answer

Capitalism, which is the fruit of sound economics, is deemed by many Christians as one of the main contributing causes to the materialistic spirit of our age. With the increase in the standard of living and the search for more material comforts has come a breakdown in morals in the home,

[2] Tillich, Paul. *The Religious Situation.* New York: Meridian Press, Inc., n.d. p. 72.

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the Church, and in the State. The greed, dishonesty, covetousness, juvenile delinquency, growing divorce rate, increased drunkenness, and crime are all attributed openly, or in the minds of many, to the materialism inherent in capitalism. With the increase in material comforts effected by capitalism has come a concomitant decrease in adherence to moral standards, and so a causal relationship is assumed.

To be consistent, Christians who come to this conclusion should advocate a lowering of the standard of living and poverty as the cure for this ill. Very few, however, are ready to draw this consistent conclusion. Rather, they seek the solution along Marxian lines. They are hostile to the atheism of Marx and to what they consider to be his materialism. Yet they believe government intervention toward equalizing the wealth will help eliminate selfishness, greed, and materialism. In their estimation the Christian religion requires selfless love and being our brother's keeper. This they feel is best fulfilled by the Welfare State.

So it is that multitudes of sincere Christians who are deeply concerned about the spiritual life of the Church follow their outspoken leaders in openly advocating or at least not opposing a progressive socialization of our society. Most of them no doubt do this from the sincere conviction that they are thus promoting the spiritual over against the secular. Few, certainly no Christian, would quarrel with their desire to improve the general welfare of all, or with their concern for improvement in the general morality, in respect for the authority of parents and for the law. Materialism, when it is defined as placing the love for material goods in place of love for God, is certainly contrary to Christian virtue.

We may well approve the sincerity of such persons and the noble ends they seek. However, no matter how earnest they may be, if the system they advocate is incapable of realizing their own noble ends, we must oppose their principles on those grounds. It can also readily be demonstrated that the carrying out of these principles involves direct defiance of the revealed moral law of God.

Wealth as a Means

In the first place, such views involve a false antithesis between the secular and the spiritual. For the Christian the material goods of this life should be viewed as gifts of God that are to be used to his glory. In the Bible sin is never inherent in matter but rather lies in the thoughts and deeds of men with its fountain in the evil heart.

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God has placed us in the world he created, given us the intellects and strength to utilize the resources of the world for our good and for his glory. The Bible tells us, "Whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God." (I Corinthians 10:31) Certainly this involves using material goods in obedience to the specific commands of God. It also involves using them in the service of the kingdom of God and for our Saviour, Jesus Christ. It also involves permeating our use of the things God created with an attitude of devotion and worship to God. When secularism or materialism is defined as the act of making an idol of things, honoring, loving, and serving them instead of God rather than using them for God's glory, the Christian may well seek to prevent its creeping into the Church. But in Christianity there is no evil inherent in things nor is the possession of material goods sinful. The sin of materialism lies rather in making of goods an idol that is worshiped and served in the place of God.

The Role of Economics

The thinking of these people is characterized by lack of economic understanding. This omission is a grave one, and one that of necessity involves them in serious inconsistencies and opposition to the very principles of Christianity to which they hold. It is a gross misunderstanding of the study of economics that classes it as a secular science dealing with the material realm which is of no concern to the Christian. Economics does not deal with the ultimate ends of man, his highest religious or moral ideals. It deals rather with the means man chooses to attain his ends and seeks to show whether these means are fit to attain the ends aimed at or not.[3]

Certainly most Christians agree that a decrease in infant mortality, increase in the span of our life, a progressive upgrade in our standard of living, elimination of poverty and misery are ends consistent with Christian ideals and toward the ultimate glory of God and our good as God's creatures. The question economics deals with is whether free enterprise and a government limited to the suppression of evil or whether state interference in the economy, government control and ownership in the means of production is the means best suited to the accomplishment of these ends.

The science of economics has demonstrated clearly that socialism is a system unable to realize

[3] See Ludwig von Mises' *Human Action*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1949.

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the ends it claims as its own. The more consistently it is applied, the more the mass of men are impoverished. Complete world-wide socialism must lead to chaos because without the market economy economic calculation would be impossible.[4] It has been demonstrated that socialism must lead progressively to loss of freedoms and to slavery.[5] The Christian who is ignorant of economics should oppose socialism and government intervention in the economy, except to restrain evil, because such intervention of necessity involves defiance of the moral law. It is the use of coercion for a purpose other than to restrain evil which is contrary to the law of God. It involves a redistribution of the wealth, which is theft. It is based on the sinful tendency of men to covet that which is not theirs in opposition to the command, "Thou shalt not covet." Thus on moral grounds alone, socialism and interventionism should be rejected. In this rational world created by God, wrong means must always result in failure to achieve the ends desired. So, even those who reject the finality of the moral law (to their own hurt) should reject socialism and interventionism because they have been demonstrated inadequate to achieve the ends at which they aim.

In Defense of Laissez-Faire

Christians often oppose capitalism because of a complete misunderstanding of what capitalism is. Laissez-faire capitalism simply teaches that men ought to be free except to do evil. The work of the government is that of the police, to restrain evil. Capitalism has been characterized as a system of irresponsible freedom, a harsh system unconcerned for the welfare of mankind. On the contrary, it is the system that alone can benefit the mass of mankind best. It is improper restraints on freedom along with inadequate restraint of evil that lead to poverty and suffering for all.

Capitalism allows free play to ideas which of necessity are the product of individual minds and by means of which progress and the well-being of all is best promoted. Capitalism advocates the restraint of evil which is the greatest deterrent to the happiness and well-being of each. It is the system in accord with Christian ideals and ideas. It promotes the greatest equality of wealth that is consistent with Christian morals and progress. It recognizes the truth of Ricardo's law of association which shows that peace-

[4] *Ibid.*, chapter 26.

[5] See Friedrich Hayek's *Road to Serfdom.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944.

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ful noncoercive cooperation results in the greatest benefit to the weak and to the strong – with the weak benefiting even more than the strong. The efficient use of our various abilities in the division of labor in capitalistic production is the factor that utilizes cooperation to the fullest in mass production for the masses and results in cheaper prices for the so-called common man.

Capitalism is the system that alone allows freedom of thought, of criticism, and of religion. Under no other system can the Christian Church be free to propagate its ideas. Only under capitalism can the Christian freely teach the Christian message of the sovereignty and love of God, of salvation by God's grace through faith in Christ, and of the necessity of love for God and of obedience to his law as the means to the greatest happiness in this life and the next. It is a fateful irony that has led the Church to support a system inimical to its own interests.

Christians idolize Karl Marx and socialism because of a complete misapprehension. The materialism of Marx is not materialism in the sense used by Christians. It is rather the completely untenable view that it is the material productive forces that determine society's structure and man's religious and other views. Marxianism, deprived of its atheism, is viewed as compatible with Christian ideals. This shows complete unawareness of the fact that the system has been demonstrated as utterly unfit to attain its ends and the welfare of the proletariat, that it is wholly at variance with Christian morals, and is a system that demands as one of its precepts almost complete loss of freedom and a strong dictatorship. Only ignorance of Christianity and of Marx could lead a Christian to laud his system as ideal.

Worship of the State

Christians may well bemoan the increased lawlessness, disrespect for the State, parents, and for law, in our generation. H. M. Carson says, "One strange result of the growing concern by the state for the welfare of its members has been a growing lack of respect for the state."[6] Christians have turned to the State to secure their well-being. They want the powerful State to subsidize the less prosperous workers, to pay their medical bills, to support them in old age, to protect weak industries, to educate their children, in fact to provide for their welfare from the cradle to the grave. The law has been perverted from its purpose of restraining evil to the work

[6] Carson, H. M. *op. cit.*, p. 32.

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of redistributing the income to satisfy special groups of voters. It soon becomes evident that the State cannot pay Paul without robbing Peter, and the Peters and Pauls both lose respect for the law that, instead of restraining evil, perpetrates it.

This lack of respect for the State, which cannot replace the security of individual initiative and savings, is the natural fruit of the principles of the Welfare State. Law that perverts the justice which is its province to maintain will not long retain the respect of its victims or of its beneficiaries. This disrespect for law will carry over into the home, and children, whose parents have lost respect for the laws of the State, will likewise lose respect for the divinely constituted authority of the parents. The very system that defies God's law in order to equalize the wealth must breed a spirit of lawlessness and materialism. With the law favoring one group at the expense of another, each will seek to be on the receiving end of the government's beneficence. This, and not capitalism, is what breeds the spirit of materialism and lawlessness.

Less Intervention—Not More

The solution to the problems of our society does not lie in increased government intervention but rather in a return to the principles of laissez-faire capitalism and of Christianity. It lies in adherence to the moral law by individuals and by the State. It lies in government, not of special privilege, but by law. It involves government by law that secures equal justice for all and special privilege for none. Law that does not grant special privileges to labor or to business. Law that treats the rich the same as the poor, the black the same as the white, the Christian the same as the non-Christian. Law that metes out justice firmly and equally.

When men are free to promote and practice their ideas unrestrained except when they interfere with the same rights of others, and when government is restricted to the work of restraining evil, then and only then may we expect the trend toward socialism, war, and poverty to reverse itself. When the Christian Church and Christians learn that God's law requires freedom except to do evil to others, and when they see that Christian ideals and the welfare of all are best served by the principles of laissez-faire capitalism rightly understood, greater respect for the message of the Church regarding salvation and the future life will be generated.

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THE RESULT IS SLAVERY

HOWARD E. KERSHNER

THE PEOPLE who live in the regions round about New York, and other cities, are in great distress because commuter railroad fares are being raised sharply – to $50 and $60 a month and even more. I heard a minister say, last night, that government must step in and do something about it. There is general agreement with his statement.

What can government do to solve this problem? It can tax noncommuters and give the proceeds to the commuters. It can reach out to the farthest corners of the state and take money from people who never use suburban railroad service and give that money to those who do. It can go into slums of New York and tax people who have never been on a train, to make life easier for those who live in the suburbs and use the trains daily.

Suppose the commuters would go to their noncommuter friends, and to others in the cities and throughout the state, and say to them frankly, "I cannot afford to go to and from my work because the fare is too high. Will you contribute to the cost of my transportation?" How many would do it? Would you? If not, why do you think government should force you to do that which you do not wish to do?

You have no more returned from canvassing the public to obtain help with your transportation problem than a neighboring farmer comes in and says he cannot afford to continue farming, unless you and others will pay him more for his produce than he can obtain in the open market. You refuse to help, and he successfully invokes the power of government to rob you in order to pay him.

After the visit from the farmer,

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Illustration: A. Devaney, Inc., New York

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a delegation calls to tell you they cannot afford the proper kind of housing. Some of them want you to pay part of their rent and others want you to pay part of the cost of building a house for them. You refuse, and they successfully invoke the power of government to compel you to pay part of the rent for those who prefer to rent and part of the building cost for those who want to own their own homes.

Next, a group of publishers call who say they cannot afford to send their publications through the United States mails without some help from you. You refuse their request, and they successfully invoke the power of government to compel you to pay a part of the cost of their operation.

Your next visitors are a group of labor leaders who say their members do not wish to work 40 hours a week but ask you to contribute so they may be paid for the time they are not working. You refuse indignantly, and they successfully invoke the power of government to compel you to contribute to a full day's pay for many of them who work possibly a few hours, a few minutes, or not at all.

If we confined ourselves to asking others to help us in all these matters, we would be a nation of beggars. Actually, we have become a nation of thieves because we do not content ourselves with requesting help but systematically rob one another by the exercise of the police power of government. How foolish we are to think we can have more by paying each other's expenses. Doing it through the machinery of government is very wasteful and in the end we all have less.

Coming back to the problem of the commuter, the problem exists in the first place because of government intervention. Government-regulated rates have long been too low to cover costs. Taxes in many cases are above the total railway receipts in certain areas. Disastrous "featherbedding" has been made possible by government-granted privilege to railway workers. One government intervention has followed another until now disaster is upon us. As always, more of the disease is proposed as a cure. Socialism seems unable to stop short of complete control of the economic activities of the people; but that means slavery. Do the American people want it? Any government intervention makes matters worse and calls more loudly for further intervention. There is no stopping place. We must either deprive government of the right of all intervention in the economic activities of the people or go on to full control which amounts to slavery.

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JAMES C. PATRICK

A Better Way to Help Farmers

EDITOR'S NOTE: Mr. Patrick, Manager of the New Albany (Indiana) Chamber of Commerce, is enrolled in a course in Economics at the Southeastern Center of Indiana University at Jeffersonville. The following article is his answer to a question assigned by the instructor from the textbook used in the class.

TEXTBOOK: *Economics – An Introduction to Analysis and Policy*, George Leland Bach, Professor and Head, Department of Economics, Carnegie Institute of Technology; Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1957

> QUESTION 3, p. 488: *If the demand for basic farm products is in fact substantially inelastic, is there any way the government can help farmers except through output-restriction programs?*

THIS QUESTION is only partly, and not even primarily, a question in economics. To answer it adequately it is first necessary to define what government is and what its proper functions are. In order to find out what government really is, a person has merely to run a red light while a traffic policeman is watching, or refuse to pay the portion of his federal taxes going for defense purposes as a Cincinnati clergyman did not long ago, or violate acreage limitations on a crop as a Hoosier farmer did, with the result that his tractor was seized and sold just a few days ago. It quickly becomes apparent,

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when tested in some such manner as these, that government basically is force – the organized force of society.

The real question then becomes: what is the proper use of force? It is certainly inherent in the fact that the Creator – call him by whatever name we will: God or First Cause or some other term – in giving man life, gave him the right to preserve and defend his life, and hence, to defend those possessions he has which sustain his life. So man possesses the right to defend his life and property, using force in their defense, if need be.

As populations have grown and relations among people have become more complex, men have pooled a major portion of their right to use force in organizations which we call governments and have turned over to these organizations much of the responsibility for defending life and property.

Improper Use of Force

It may well be "more blessed to give than to receive," but the right to use force to defend our life and the things that sustain our life certainly does not imply the right to force others to give also, through taxation, to support the needy, be they farmers or not, nor does it imply the right to impose our will upon others nor to compel others to do "what is best for them" in our opinion.

The Constitution of the United States reflected the thinking of men who had studied closely and thought deeply about the nature of man, the sources of power or force, and the proper functions of government, because they had lived close to much misuse and abuse of government power. The document was influenced by the thought of men such as John Locke, Thomas Paine, and Thomas Jefferson.

Among its framers were men who had personally witnessed how power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely, so it spells out the limited powers of the federal government and makes it clear that the residual powers lie with the people primarily and with the states.

The proper use of the force of government might be defined as to defend the life and property of all citizens equally, to protect all willing exchange and restrain all unwilling exchange, to suppress and penalize all fraud, all misrepresentation, all violence, and all predatory practice, to maintain a common justice under law, and to keep the records necessary to these functions. This is a bigger assignment than governments generally have been able to perform adequately. Let government do these

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things and do them well and leave other activities to the willing, creative efforts of free men.

On February 16, 1887, President Grover Cleveland vetoed House Bill No. 10203 which proposed to enable the Commissioner of Agriculture to extend aid to drought-stricken farmers in Texas. His veto was based on the lack of any authority in the Constitution for such aid and upon the fact that the service or benefit of the general public was not involved. The Constitution contains no provision for legislation to assist any special group – agriculture, business, labor, or what have you. The fact that governmental powers have been misused in the past does not make it right to misuse them now.

I cannot escape the conclusion that the way for the government to help farmers is for it to get out of the business of passing special legislation for them or for business or for labor and let these groups seek solutions to their problems by their own initiative, expressed individually or through their associations, *acting voluntarily*.

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

A Futile Life

LIFE IS INFINITELY less important than freedom. A free man has a value to himself and perhaps to his time; a ward of the state is useless to himself – useful only as so many foot-pounds of energy serving those who manage to set themselves above him. A people which has lost its freedom might better be dead, for it has no importance in the scheme of things except as an evil power behind a dictator. In our hearts we all despise the man who wishes the state to take care of him, who would not rather live meagerly as he pleases than suffer a fat and regimented existence. Those who are not willing to sacrifice their lives for their liberty have never been worth saving.

MAXWELL ANDERSON, *The Guaranteed Life*

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The Constitution of Liberty

IT IS as an "Old Whig," not as a New Conservative, that Friedrich A. Hayek addresses his public in his monumental essay on the nature and principles of a free society, *The Constitution of Liberty* (University of Chicago Press, 570 pp., $7.50).

By "old Whiggery," Hayek means to imply the philosophy that animated Edmund Burke, Lord Acton, Tocqueville, and Macaulay, all of whom believed that true freedom consisted of a constitutional dispensation that guaranteed to every man his legal "independence of the arbitrary will of another." Since the word "liberal" has been conscripted by Fabian socialists and many shades of interventionists to describe their own brands of Statism, and since the word "conservative" might indicate a willingness to use the powers of the State to protect certain favored groups against change, Hayek's label for himself will probably do as well as any. (He rejects the word "libertarian" as a clumsy fabrication.) But Americans who have learned to associate the word Whig with the names of Henry Clay and Daniel Webster, who supported the "American System" of using the tariff to pay for "internal improvements" that did not necessarily benefit the various citizens or sections of the nation equally, should be careful to make no mistake about what Hayek believes. He is not a tariff man, nor does he advocate arbitrary rejiggering of personal incomes by way of the selective subsidies that seem inseparable from federal sponsorship of "internal improvements."

So much for clearing the nature of Hayek's self-chosen party label. Inasmuch as the book is about principles and their application, the question of "what-should-the-true-liberal-call-himself" is not too important. What is important is that Hayek, an Austrian, has thought longer and harder about the heritage bequeathed to Americans by James Madison than almost any modern native-born American you could name. This in itself does not bode well for our freedom. Americans, taking James Madison and the U.S. Constitution

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for granted, have let slippery semanticists redefine the original Madisonian constructions to mean their opposites. For example, the Madisonian phrase, "general welfare," no longer implies benefits that accrue to everybody; in the modern context it means particular exemptions from the rules that govern the generality. Lazy and slack about their verbalisms, Americans no longer know what Madison meant – or even said. Hayek, on the other hand, has been compelled by the exigencies of a European life to think hard about meanings. As an Austrian he grew up in the shadow of the neighboring Bismarckian Social Service State of Prussia, and he has seen at firsthand how the seemingly innocuous doctrines of "socialists of the chair" can lead to concentration camps and war. The moral would seem to be that liberty must be periodically lost in order to wake up its defenders; it is not safe in the hands of those who have never known its absence.

The Twilight Zones of Liberty

If sheer thinking could change this, would Americans be saved in the future because of Hayek's book? In general, I think they would. But Hayek seems to be irresistibly drawn to a consideration of the hard cases that make for bad law – and one cannot be certain that his long and sometimes tortuous attempts to explore the twilight zones where the practise of freedom is difficult will help his readers to be clear about basic principle. The reader's troubles multiply particularly in the section of the book devoted to "Freedom in the Welfare State." Take Hayek's chapter on social security, for instance. Hayek is obviously in favor of a "poor law" that will enable government to provide for "the extremes of old age, unemployment, sickness, etc." People, says Hayek, just can't be left in "need," and local charities must at least be supplemented by national attention. "The necessity of some such arrangement in an industrial society," says Hayek, "is unquestioned – be it only in the interest of those who require protection against acts of desperation on the part of the needy."

The trouble with this is that "need" in the modern State has come to include just about everything from television sets to vacations in whatever is the closest equivalent to Florida. The claims for large federal supplements to local charity thus become irresistible.

As a practical matter of going from the "here" of our present "unitary" social security system to the "there" of universal volun-

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tary insurance on a decentralized basis, Hayek's proposal that "coercion" be maintained to "require everybody to make provisions of a kind which only some had made before" may constitute good "interim" common sense. The trick would be to compel everybody to prove – via a declaration on the income tax statement – that he or she is insured somewhere, with exemption from compulsory government insurance being granted to those who choose to take out policies with private companies. But to keep our minds clear on the subject, such a proposal should be labeled as a *faute de mieux* infringement of principle, not as something that is in consonance with principle itself. Hayek tries to argue that free men have the need to employ the coercion of compulsory insurance to "protect themselves against the consequences of the extreme misery of their fellows." Well, it may be practical politics and even good business to force people to provide for their retirement. But it is only by doing violence to the language that it can be described as part of the "constitution of liberty" itself.

Urban Renewal and Zoning

When he tackles the subject of town planning, Hayek is disturbed by the fact that if one man neglects his property, it must have "neighborhood effects" that inevitably drag down the values of the surrounding real estate. Regarded in this light, zoning and even compulsory slum clearance can be thought of as bulwarks of the *value* of private property, even though they may infringe the principle of private ownership itself. Hayek tries to introduce the concept of the municipality as a sort of "superior owner," with "superior rights" to determine the "character of a large district to be developed." Again, his approach may be commended as a "practical politics" that is preferable to outright government seizure of the urban landscape. But his attempt to make such things as compulsory control of "neighborhood effects" a more or less integral part of the "constitution of liberty" is not conducive to clarity in thinking. It would have been better if Hayek had let expediency remain labeled as such, leaving the basic principle to stand unencumbered. Once one has accepted the moral desirability of free land use, one can then move on to the esthetic need for positive voluntary substitutes for the compulsory zoning principle. There is, for example, Mr. Spencer Heath's suggestion that small property holders pool their titles in order to get the benefits of planned "neighbor-

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hood control" without charging the costs to society. This proposal is something that Dr. Hayek might have elaborated on with profit to his own general theory of freedom.

As to the general proposition of freedom, Hayek wisely observes that it requires a basic framework of law. And the protections offered by the law must be the same for all men. The free society must be prepared to accept the fact that unequal results will flow from treating unequals equally under the law. This may offend humanitarians. But if it does, there is nothing to prevent them from raising funds voluntarily to make things easier for the people who have had less talent, less money, or less luck than their fellows.

When it comes to taxation, the principle of equality under the law must rule out the progressive income tax. In championing the proportional income tax, Hayek would make exceptions for the lowest brackets on the ground that they are already paying a bigger proportion of their income to the government in the form of hidden taxes.

Whether the equal application of the rule of law can guarantee a free society might in itself be an arguable point. It is obviously a palpable infringement of a city laboring man's freedom when he is taxed – and progressively taxed, at that – to provide a subsidy for a farmer who may live on the other side of the continent. But what if a government, by democratic majority decision, were to vote a proportional capital levy on everybody, rich and poor alike, to pay for some hypothetically incontestable general benefit. In such a case nobody would be compelled to obey the "arbitrary" will of another; all would have been done legally, and everybody in society would remain in his same relative place. Nevertheless, 49 per cent of the population might feel aggrieved – and very much unfree.

It may be stretching things too far to suggest that a society would ever vote to oppress all its members equally: where taxes are proportional, for example, there will be a general interest in society to keep them at a point where they will not bear down too inexorably on anybody. Moreover, under Hayek's "constitution of liberty" there would be all the familiar checks on precipitate action. In a good *Rechtstaat* the ordinary courts would settle disputes arising from administrative acts, an upper legislative chamber would prevent too hasty legislation by a lower, a Ninth Amendment (or its equivalent) would forestall the usurpation of individ-

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ual or states' rights by central government, and the executive himself would be bound by laws – and also by limiting the funds at his disposal.

Hayek is enough of a believer in human nature to feel that people will behave under civil liberty if they aren't tempted by the doctrines of socialism into doing things that involve treating individual wealth and talent as if it were a pool belonging to the nation. He feels that socialism itself has been discredited by recent experiences in Europe. As for State Welfarism, Hayek is less sanguine that people will learn to distinguish between the provision of common amenities and the use of government to insure that particular people get particular things. We could, he thinks, still slip into socialism and serfdom via an attempt to legislate a "more just distribution of goods."

To an American – and very probably to an English – reader, *The Constitution of Liberty* will be doubly valuable because Hayek, a continental European, has drawn widely from non-Anglo-Saxon experience to illustrate his points. The 113 pages of notes bearing on the text are almost incredibly rich; they are conveniently set up in the rear of the book with directions laid out so that one may get the proper reference at a glance. To steal from Winston Churchill, never was so much scholarship made so easily available to so many in so small a space.

THE IDEA OF A COLLEGE

By Elton Trueblood (Harper. 207 pp. $4.00.)

Reviewed by Edwin McDowell

THE COLLEGE exists, writes Dr. Trueblood, erudite professor of philosophy at Indiana's Erlham College, for the sake of producing significant changes in the lives of those who enter the community voluntarily in the hope of personal improvement. Its purpose is to remove students from the partial worlds which are the product of their own misguided imaginations and distorted viewpoints, in order to introduce them to the "only world that is or ever will be."

Of the major types of academic establishments in America, the liberal arts college provides the characteristic and central pattern of higher education. Although private in the sense that it receives no money from government, the college is in fact a "public" institution, the author maintains, in that it serves the entire nation instead of existing for the profit of its owners; and, until recently, despite the existence of tax supported institutions, it has served the majority of American students. Professor Trueblood points

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with pride to a study by two Wesleyan University professors which revealed that of the 50 institutions which have, per capita, contributed the most toward science, 39 of them were those with independent boards and support, usually comparatively small, and with a Christian emphasis.

It is the author's concern with Christian ideals which dominates much of the book. He traces the combination of the love of God and the love of learning to our early colonialists, explaining how most of the great early colleges — even a number of state universities — were built on Christian principles. "No scholar . . . can hope to understand American culture," he says, "if he does not study carefully the immense impact of the Christian college upon the total American life."

This Christian emphasis, which Professor Trueblood sadly admits is disappearing from many colleges, is rarely devoted either to religious studies or to denominational instruction of its members. Instead, it is devoted to emphasizing the reality of human freedom and the responsibility which is meaningless apart from this freedom; further, it spurs the Christian scholar to search always for the truth because it is God's truth that he is trying to discover. (For example, writes Dr. Trueblood, "The Christian psychologist will learn from Freud; but he will also learn from Augustine, and his study of the Bishop of Hippo will enable him to see some of the self-contradictions which are to be found in the work of the doctor of Vienna."

Although the need for the preservation of Christian principles in the colleges is the theme of Professor Trueblood's message, he pens many other words of wisdom which college officials would do well to heed. Together with warning against emulating the Russian educational system, he also reminds us it is not necessary for viewpoints to be *represented* in order for them to be presented. "Because a good Christian scholar can present dialectical materialism with real fairness, at the same time expressing his own criticism, it is not necessary to employ an avowed communist on the faculty."

"Colleges are bound to have an effect upon the outcome of current history," Professor Trueblood warns. "If we succeed in destroying the race, that will be partly because of what has been developed in colleges; and if we come out into a brighter day, that, too, in part, will be because of what college men and women have thought. Ivory towers are among the most productive of human structures."

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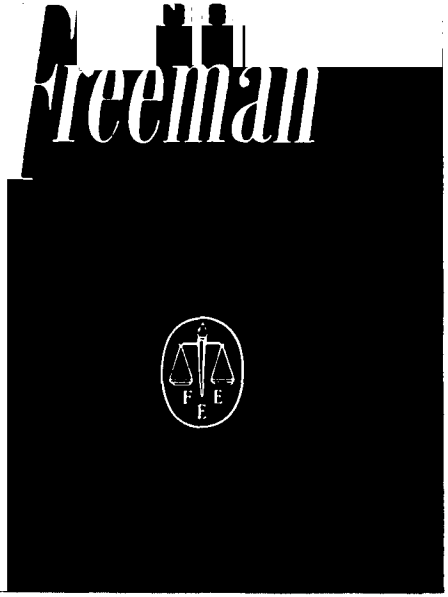

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From:

ONE'S DUTY TO SOCIETY

■ EVERY MAN AND WOMAN in society has one big duty. That is, to take care of his or her own self. This is a social duty. For, fortunately, the matter stands so that the duty of making the best of one's self individually is not a separate thing from the duty of filling one's place in society, but the two are one, and the latter is accomplished when the former is done. The common notion, however, seems to be that one has a duty to society, as a special and separate thing, and that this duty consists in considering and deciding what other people ought to do.

WILLIAM GRAHAM SUMNER
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